EARLY HISTORY OF BUDDHISM IN CEYLON

OR "STATE OF BUDDHISM IN CEYLON AS REVEALED BY THE PĀLI COMMENTARIES OF THE 5TH CENTURY A.D."

(*Thesis submitted to and accepted by the University of London for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy*)

by

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TO MY TEACHERS

Venerable Kolonnāvé Saddhānanda Thero
of Kalaviṭigodelle Vihāra, Ceylon
and
Dr. William Stede of the University of
London

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I should like also to add that a work of this nature in an unexplored field must necessarily remain very incomplete. I shall, therefore, be grateful to my readers if they will kindly send me their suggestions and criticisms so that necessary improvements may be made in subsequent editions.

E. W. ADIKARAM

Ananda Sastralaya,
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CONTENTS

PART ONE

			Page
Chapter	I	The Pāli Commentaries	1
	II	The Sources of the Pāli Commentaries ...	10
	III	The Bhāṇakas	24
	IV	The Nature of the Contents of the Pāli Commentaries	33

PART TWO

	I	Before the Advent of Mahinda	43
	II	The Advent of Mahinda	49
	III	The Spread of the Faith	59
	IV	The Writing down of the Texts	73
	V	The First Literary period	80
	VI	The Growth of Dissentient Schools	88
	VII	Where the Faith Flourished	102
	VIII	The Buddhist Life	125
	IX	The Growth of Ritual	134
	X	The Position of the Deities	145
Appendix IA		... ...	i
Appendix IB		... ...	viii
Appendix IIA		... ...	xvii
Appendix IIB		... ...	xxiv
Appendix IIC		... ...	xxvi
Appendix IID		... ...	xxvii
Appendix III		... ...	xxviii
Bibliography		... ...	xxxiii
Index		... ...	xxxix

ABBREVIATIONS

A	...	Aṅguttaranikāya
ApA	...	Apadāna Aṭṭhakathā
Att	...	Atthasālinī
Bgh	...	Buddhaghosa (The Life and Works of) by B. C. Law
Bu	...	Buddhavaṃsa
BuA	...	Buddhavaṃsa Aṭṭhakathā
CpA	...	Cariyāpiṭaka Aṭṭhakathā
Cūl	...	Cūlavaṃsa
Cūl. tr.	...	Cūlavaṃsa Translation by W. Geiger
D	...	Dīghanikāya
D & M	...	Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa (English Translation) by W. Geiger
DhA	...	Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā
Dīp	...	Dīpavaṃsa
Ep. Zey.	...	Epigraphia Zeylanica
I. H. Q.	...	Indian Historical Quarterly
ItA	...	Itivuttaka Aṭṭhakathā
J.	...	Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā (Fausböll's Edition)
J. P. T. S.	...	Journal of the Pāli Text Society
J. R. A. S.	...	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
J. R. A. S. (C.B.)	...	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch)
Kv	...	Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī
M	...	Majjhimanikāya
Man	...	Manorathapūraṇī
Man Sn	...	Manorathapūraṇī (Sinhalese Edition)
Mil	...	Milindapañha
MNiA	...	Mahāniddesa Aṭṭhakathā
Mv	...	Mahāvaṃsa
Mv. tr.	...	Mahāvaṃsa Translation by W. Geiger
NA	...	Netti Aṭṭhakathā
Pap	...	Papañcasūdanī
Pap Sn	...	Papañcasūdanī (Sinhalese Edition)
Pj	...	Paramatthajotikā
P. L. C.	...	Pāli Literature of Ceylon by G. P. Malalasekara
P.P.	...	Path of Purity
PsmA	...	Paṭisambhidāmagga Aṭṭhakathā
P.T.S.	...	Pāli Text Society
Pug. Pañ. Com.	...	Puggalapaññatti Commentary
PvA	...	Petavatthu Aṭṭhakathā
R. A. S.	...	Royal Asiatic Society
S	..	Saṃyuttanikāya
SA	...	Saṃyuttanikāya Aṭṭhakathá (Sāratthappakāsinī)
SA Sn	...	Saṃyuttanikāya Aṭṭhakathā (Sāratthappakāsinī) (Sinhalese) Edition)
Smp	...	Samantapāsādīka
Smp Sn	...	Samantapāsādīkā (Sinhalese Edition)
Sum Vil	...	Sumaṅgalavilāsinī
SV	...	Sammohavinodanī
Thera A	...	Theragāthā Aṭṭhakathā
Theri A	...	Therigāthā Aṭṭhakathā
UdA	...	Udāna Aṭṭhakathā
Vi	...	Visuddhimagga
VvA	...	Vimānavatthu Aṭṭhakathā

INTRODUCTION

THE history of Buddhism in Ceylon is still an almost unexplored field. As far as the ancient period is concerned our knowledge has been limited to what can be gleaned from the Dīpavaṃsa and the Mahāvaṃsa. A wealth of information lies scattered in the Pāḷī Aṭṭhakathās or Commentaries of the fifth century A.D., and the present work is an attempt to link together that scattered material and reconstruct the history of Buddhism in the island up to that century.

The Aṭṭhakathā references to incidents which took place in Ceylon were not intended to serve as records of history. Their only use to the commentators was as illustrations in the elucidation of the Canonical Texts. Such being the case, these references are not to be found in chronological or any other order. Not seldom has one to read scores of pages in a Commentary before one comes across a reference to a person or place or event connected with Ceylon. Often even when such references are obtained it is exceedingly difficult to find out to what periods in the history of Ceylon the events thus referred to belong. For instance, there are over a hundred references in all to about twenty theras who lived in the time of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. Taking the references to each thera separately one cannot possibly say that the theras lived during the reign of that king. Fortunately, in one place we find one of these theras mentioned as a contemporary of another, who, in turn, is said in another reference to be the contemporary of a third thera, and so on ; and further some of them are said to have received a gift from or else had some other connection with the king in question. Thus it becomes possible to establish the fact that all these theras were contemporaries of that monarch. This, in general, is the method of the linking together of references adopted throughout this work. The Mahāvaṃsa and the Dīpavaṃsa, too, become of very great use in this direction.

There is, still, a considerable number of references which, with our present knowledge of Ceylon history, are difficult to be treated chronologically. Most of these have, therefore, been grouped according to the localities mentioned in them and form the contents of a separate chapter (Part II ch. 7) which is more or less of a geographical nature. With the discovery and publication of further inscriptions, it may become possible to know more definitely about the places mentioned in this group of references.

With the exception of these, the rest of the available material has been utilised to give, as far as possible, a connected history of the faith from the earliest times down to the fifth century A.D. As a rule, facts given in detail in the Mahāvaṃsa have been left out entirely or are mentioned only incidentally. Recourse had to be taken to this method of treatment as the purpose of the present work is to give a history of the faith as revealed by the Pāli Commentaries.

The work is divided into two parts. Part I forms a necessary introduction to Part II, and deals with the Pāli Commentaries, their sources and the nature of their contents.

Part II, consisting of ten chapters, is devoted to a consideration of the introduction of Buddhism to Ceylon, its spread there and the effects which the faith had upon the life of the inhabitants of the island. Considerable

attention is paid, especially in the chapters on the "Dissentient Schools" and the "Growth of Ritual"—and also in the fourth chapter of Part I—to the development (or corruption) which the faith underwent in its new home. As a possible aid to further research on the subject, an alphabetical index of names of persons and places in Ceylon as found in the Commentaries is inserted as an Appendix.

As far as available the Aṭṭhakathās used are the publications of the Pāli Text Society, London. For the rest I have used those published in Ceylon in Sinhalese characters. Even when a translation of a Commentary is available in English I have, in order to be more precise, often preferred the original Pāli.

PART I

CHAPTER I

The Pali Commentaries

THE Pāli *Aṭṭhakathās* or Commentaries form the main source of material for our attempt to reconstruct the history of Buddhism in early Ceylon. The light they throw on every aspect of the Buddhist life at that period is invaluable. Hence it is necessary to give at the very outset, at least a brief survey of the works themselves, their authors, the sources from which they were drawn, and the nature of their contents. In the present chapter we shall deal with the first two points.

The following table gives a list of the Commentaries, the Canonical Texts on which they are written, and their authors :

TEXT	COMMENTARY	AUTHOR OF COMMENTARY
	Visuddhimagga	Buddhaghosa
Vinaya		
Vinaya Pitaka	Samantapāsādikā	Buddhaghosa
Pātimokkha	Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī	Buddhaghosa
Sutta		
Dīghanikāya	Sumaṅgalavilāsinī	Buddhaghosa
Majjhimanikāya	Papañcasūdanī	Buddhaghosa
Saṃyuttanikāya	Sāratthappakāsinī	Buddhaghosa
Aṅguttaranikāya	Manorathapūraṇī	Buddhaghosa
Khuddakanikāya		
(1) Khuddakapāṭha	Paramatthajotikā	Attributed to Buddhaghosa
(2) Dhammapada	Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā	Attributed to Buddhaghosa
(3) Udāna	Paramatthadīpanī	Dhammapāla
(4) Itivuttaka	Paramatthadīpanī	Dhammapāla
(5) Suttanipāta	Paramatthajotikā	Attributed to Buddhaghosa
(6) Vimānavatthu	Paramatthadīpanī	Dhammapāla
(7) Petavatthu	Paramatthadīpanī	Dhammapāla
(8) Theragāthā	Paramatthadīpanī	Dhammapāla
(9) Therigāthā	Paramatthadīpanī	Dhammapāla
(10) Jātaka	Jātakaṭṭhakathā	Attributed to Buddhaghosa
(11) Niddesa	Saddhammapajjotikā	Upasena
(12) Paṭisambhidāmagga	Saddhammappakāsinī	Mahānāma
(13) Apadāna	Visuddhajanavilāsinī	Not known
(14) Buddhavaṃsa	Madhuratthavilāsinī	Buddhadatta
(15) Cariyāpiṭaka	Paramatthadīpanī	Dhammapāla

Abhidhamma

Dhammasaṅganī	..	Atthasālinī	..	Buddhaghosa
Vibhaṅga	..	Sammohavinodanī	..	Buddhaghosa
Kathāvatthu	..	Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā		Buddhaghosa
Puggalapaññatti	..	Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā		Buddhaghosa
Dhātukathā	..	Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā		Buddhaghosa
Yamaka	..	Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā		Buddhaghosa
Paṭṭhāna	..	Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā		Buddhaghosa

Buddhaghosa

This list shows that more than half of the works are by Buddhaghosa. He was, indeed, the greatest Buddhist commentator and, quite naturally, many are the legends that have grown round his life. In Ceylon there exists up to the present day a popular tradition that he was born in this world for the sole purpose of writing the Pāli Commentaries and thereby of helping the *pariyatti sāsana* or the "teaching in doctrine" of the Buddha to be preserved in all its purity for a long time.

The Mahāvaṃsa[1] gives a wealth of information about this great personage. The Buddhaghosuppatti,[2] too, gives a very long account of his life, but considered from a historical point of view, it is unfortunately not of much value.

Buddhaghosa's task was not to write a series of original books on Buddhism but to put into Pāli in a coherent and intelligent form the matter that already existed in the various Sinhalese Commentaries. His method of work is described by himself in the introduction to the Samantapāsādikā: "In commencing this commentary—having embodied therein the Mahā Aṭṭhakathā, without excluding any proper meaning from the decisions contained in the Mahā-paccarī, as also in the famous Kurundī and other commentaries, and including the opinions of the Elders . . . . . . From these commentaries, after casting off the language, condensing detailed accounts, including authoritative decisions, without overstepping any Pāli idiom (I shall proceed to compose my work)."

Buddhaghosa had before him copies of all the different Sinhalese Commentaries and also the Canonical Texts. In translating an Aṭṭhakathā from Sinhalese into Pāli he frequently consulted the corresponding Canonical Text. An illustration from the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī will make this point clear. Having given the etymological explanation of the word *khiḍḍāpadosikā*, he mentions that there is also a variant reading *khiḍḍa-padusikā* in the Text; and at the same time he observes that the latter form is not found in the Commentary.[3] Instances of this nature are very frequent in Buddhaghosa's works. While on the one hand, these are an index to the scholarly way in which the great commentator performed his task, on the other, they show that in his time the various recensions differed from one another only very slightly. The phrase *sabba aṭṭhakathāsu vuttam* (mentioned in all the Commentaries) is also of frequent occurrence,[4] and is proof for us that Buddhaghosa had before him and that he referred to all the Sinhalese Commentaries.

1 Ch. 37. vv 215—246.
2 Edited and translated by J. Gray, published by Luzac & Co., 1892. *See* also P.L.C. pp. 79 foll.
3 Sum Vil I 113.
4 *See e.g.*, Kv. 176.

Whenever Buddhaghosa has to give his own views on any point, compelled to do so by the absence of any explanation elucidating it in the Sinhalese Commentaries, he does not fail to mention that the views are his own (*ayaṃ pana me attano mati*).[1] The diligence and precision which Buddhaghosa has thus shown in his works may not appear to be anything remarkable when compared with the scientific accuracy of the present day scholar. But it must not be forgotten that he lived fifteen hundred years ago, and it is only as we take this into cosideration and compare him with scholars of other civilized countries of the same day that a true estimate of him becomes possible.

There are, however, several etymological errors in the works of Buddhaghosa. For example the word *dosinā* in *dosinā ratti* (=moonlight night) is defined as *dosâpagatā* (=free from stains)[2]. *Dosinā* is clearly the Pāli form of the Sanskrit *jyotsnā* (=moonlight), and therefore cannot have the meaning assigned to it here. Again *Makkhalī*, the name of a well known ascetic in the days of the Buddha, is derived from *mā khalī* (=do not stumble)[3], whereas the correct name of the philosopher seems to have been *Maskarin*. 'The term *Maskarin* is explained by Pāṇinī as meaning one who carries a bamboo staff (*maskara*) . . . . . According to Patañjali's comments the name indicates a school of Wanderers or Sophists who were called Maskarins not so much because they carried a bambo staff about them as because they denied the freedom of the will'.[4]

On the other hand in some parts of the Commentaries we have clear evidence of the knowledge of Sanskrit grammar possessed by those who were responsible for their compilation. The Visuddhimagga explains *Indriyaṭṭho* as "*Indaliṅgaṭṭho indriyaṭṭho, indadesitaṭṭho indriyaṭṭho, indadiṭṭhaṭṭho indriyaṭṭho, indasiṭṭhaṭṭho indriyaṭṭho, indajuṭṭhaṭṭho indriyaṭṭho.*" This explanation, as Harinath De points out, is evidently a reminiscence of the Pāṇinī Sūtra (V. 2,93) "*Indriyam indraliṅgam indradṛṣṭam indrasṛṣṭam indra juṣṭaṃ indradattam iṭi vā.*"[5]

Further we have an apparent chronological error in the Samantapāsādikā, in which Buddhaghosa gives a list of the teachers who handed down the Vinaya from the time of Mahinda 'up to the present day' (*yāva ajjatanā*).[6] But no thera in the list belongs, as will be shown in a later chapter, to a period after the first century A.D., whereas Buddhaghosa wrote his Commentaries in the early part of the fifth century A.D. The problem involved in this seeming chronological error as well as in what was pointed out immediately before, namely, the ignorance of Sanskrit exhibited in some parts of the Pāli Commentaries and the knowledge of the same in other parts, cannot be

1 Pap I 28.
2 Sum Vil I 141.
3 Man II 28, Sum Vil I 143, 144.
4 *See* B. M. Barua: A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy pp. 298, 299. It is interesting to note that the error with regard to this word is found not only in the Pali Commentaries of Ceylon but also in Jain records whose authors being Indians ought to have known better the correct meaning of the term. According to them the philosopher was called Maṅkhali because his father was a Maṅkha, that is, a dealer in pictures. As Barua observes a certain amount of mystery hangs round the name and life of this teacher. Op. cit. p. 298.
5 J. P. T. S. 1906—1907 p. 172. For similar Sanskrit influences see also Pj. I 17, 214, 215.
6 Smp I 62

satisfactorily explained if we are to assume that Buddhaghosa used a free hand in the Commentaries. But the problem becomes easy of solution if we take the view that the Sinhalese Commentaries grew in course of time receiving additions at the hands of Sinhalese teachers some of whom were conversant with the Sanskrit language and some not, and that the task of Buddhaghosa as editor and translator was not to rectify the expositions embodied in the Commentaries that were before him, but to rearrange them, to summarize them where necessary and to turn them into the Pāli language. Rhys Davids has summed up in a few words all that could be said now of Buddhaghosa: 'Of his talent there can be no doubt; it was equalled only by his extraordinary industry. But of originality, of independent thought, there is at present no evidence.'[1]

Visuddhimagga

The Visuddhimagga was the first work of Buddhaghosa in Ceylon. The Mahāvaṃsa tells us that he wrote it in brief 'summing up the three Piṭakas together with the Commentary'.[2] According to the same authority it was written as an exposition of two verses given him by the Mahāvihāra community in order to test his abilities prior to entrusting him with the weighty and responsible task of translating the Sinhalese Commentaries into Pāli.[3]

The Visuddhimagga is a concise but complete encyclopaedia of the Buddhist teachings. In the words of Mrs. Rhys Davids 'of this extraordinary book we might say, within limits, what is said of the Divina Commedia and of the Shakespearean plays: in its pages may be found something on everything—*i.e.*, in the earlier Buddhist literature'.[4] Throughout the work Buddhaghosa draws material and quotes from practically all the Canonical Texts as well as some post-Canonical works such as the Peṭakopadesa, Milindapañha and the Anāgatavaṃsa.[5] Frequent reference is also made to the Sinhalese Aṭṭhakathās and to the works classed as the Porāṇā (the Ancients). With the latter we shall deal in the next chapter. The Visuddhimagga, in turn, is quoted in Buddhaghosa's own, but later, works and also in several other Commentaries.[6]

With regard to the other works of Buddhaghosa we are not in a position to place them in any definite chronological order. In almost all the books there are references to one or other of the commentator's other works,[7] but they afford us no certain clue. This is due to the fact that a book wherein reference is made to another is itself referred to in that other. For instance, in the Atthasālinī the reader is asked to refer for some details to the Samantapāsādikā.[8] This may lead us to infer that the Atthasālinī was the later work, but such easy conclusion becomes unwarranted when we find the reader of the Samantapāsādikā referred to the Atthasālinī for a like purpose.[9] Without, therefore, attempting the task, which does not seem to be possible

1 Hasting's Ency. of Rel. and Ethics Vol. II p. 887.
2 Mv. 37, 236.
3 Ibid. 37, 235.
4 Afterword to Visuddhimagga P.T.S. Edition.
5 *See* Mrs. Rhys Davids Index to Vi. pp. 753—761.
6 *See e.g.*, Man Sn 696, 709. SV 57, 331. Att 183, 186. UdA 24, 236, 268, 283. PsmA 74, 435. Pj II 246, 248, 249, Pj II (2) 444.
7 e.g., SV is mentioned in Pap II 30, S.A II 45; Att in SV 43, 396, 410, 479. In these Att. is referred to as the Dhammasaṅgahaṭṭakathā.
8 Att 97.
9 Smp. I 150.

with our present knowledge of the facts, of placing the books in chronological sequence, we shall deal with them in the order: Vinaya, Sutta and Abhidhamma.

Samantapāsādikā

Samantapāsādikā is the Commentary on the Vinaya. It is a voluminous work written at the request of the thera Buddhasiri.[1] The epilogue to the book gives a good deal of valuable information, according to which Buddhaghosa learned the Sinhalese Commentaries from another thera by the name of Buddhamitta. At this time Buddhaghosa was residing at Anurādhapura in the building erected to the east of the Mahāvihāra by the minister Mahānigama. The writing of the Commentary was begun in the twentieth year and completed in the twenty-first year of king Sirinivāsa,[2] that is, of king Mahānāma of the Mahāvaṃsa.[3] As this king reigned for twenty-two years (from 409—431 A.D.), we may infer that the Samantapāsādikā was written in the year 429—430 A.D.

This period seems to have been a troublous one in the political history of Ceylon as is evidenced by Buddhaghosa's expression of joy at being able to complete his work in one year in safety, in a world overwhelmed with dangers.[4] The Mahāvaṃsa tells us that the death of Mahānāma was followed by serious political upheaval and that hardly two years had elapsed since the king's death when Anurādhapura was overrun by Tamil invaders who ravaged the country, hindered its progress and menaced its religion. As it was usual in times of trouble the defenders of the faith fled to Rohaṇa and it took more than a quarter of a century before the Sinhalese regained their freedom and before their religion was again established as in earlier times.[5] In my opinion this was the chief reason that compelled Buddhaghosa to leave Ceylon before he could complete the writing of Pāli Commentaries to all the Texts of the three Piṭakas.

Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī

Besides the Samantapāsādikā Buddhaghosa wrote another Commentary, the Kankhāvitaraṇī or Mātikaṭṭhakathā on a portion of the Vinaya, namely, the Pātimokkha. This was based on the tradition of the Mahāvihāra and was written at the request of a thera named Soṇa.[6]

Commentaries on the four principal Nikāyas

Then came the commentaries on the four principal Nikāyas in succession: the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī on the Dīgha, the Papañcasūdanī on the Majjhima, the Sāratthappakāsinī on the Saṃyutta and the Manorathapūraṇī on the Aṅguttara. The first of these was written at the request of the thera

1 Law says that Buddhaghosa apologises for undertaking to write, first of all, a commentary on the Vinaya Piṭaka, contrary to the usual order of Dhamma and Vinaya. (Bgh. p. 77) Malalasekara (P.L.C. 94) too, mentions that Buddhaghosa says he wrote it before all others because the Vinaya forms the foundation of the Buddhist faith. As authority for this statement Malalasekera quotes Smp. I p. I. v. 5. But I am unable to draw either of these inferences from this or any other verse in the prologue or the epilogue to the Samantapāsādikā.
2 Smp. Sn II 427.
3 For the indentity *see* P.L.C. p. 96.
4 Smp. Sn II 427.
5 Mv. 38. vv I—37.
6 Kv. I.

Dāṭhānāga of the Sumaṅgala Parivena.[1] Perhaps it was the name of this Pariveṇa that suggested to Buddhaghosa the title Sumaṅgalavilāsinī for his Commentary. The Papañcasūdanī was written at the request of the thera Buddhamitta, a friend of our commentator with whom he lived at Mayura Paṭṭana.[2] A thera called Jotipāla is mentioned as having requested Buddhaghosa to write the Sāratthappakāsinī.[3] Probably he is the same as the Jotipāla mentioned in the epilogue to the Manorathapūraṇī as having been a co-resident of Buddhaghosa when the latter was at Kañcipura.[4] In the prologue to each of these books it is said that these are translations into Pāli of the original Sinhalese Commentaries brought to Ceylon by Mahinda and preserved there by the dwellers of the Mahāvihāra. Moreover in the concluding verses it is said that the Pāli versions are written incorporating the essence (*sāram ādāya*) of the Sinhalese Mahā-aṭṭhakathā. It may also be interesting to note that more than half the number of incidents referring to Ceylon mentioned in the Manorathapūraṇī are connected with the province of Rohaṇa, from which it may, perhaps, be inferred that the Sinhalese Commentary on the Aṅguttara Nikāya received its final form in that province.

Buddhaghosa is also said to have written the Commentaries on four books belonging to the Khuddaka Nikāya, namely, Dhammapada, Jātaka, Khuddakapāṭha and Suttanipāta.

Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā

The Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, too, according to its introductory verses, is the Pāli translation of an original Sinhalese Commentary, and the translation was made at the request of a thera named Kumārakassapa.[5] Many scholars hold the view that the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā is not a work of the great commentator Buddhaghosa.[6] Geiger is of opinion that it is later than the Jātaka collection.[7] A stanza at the end of the book tells us that at the time of writing the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā the author was living in a residence built by king Sirikuḍḍa.[8] Sirikuḍḍa is apparently only another name for Sirinivāsa (Mahānāma).[9] This brings us to the date of Buddhaghosa. There is, it is true, a difference in language and style between the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā and the other Commentaries which belong to Buddhaghosa. But this should not be taken as the only criterion, for 'this difference may possibly be due to the difference in the subject matter of the various texts taken up for comment.'[10]

Jātakaṭṭhakathā

Various scholars have also expressed their doubt as to the authenticity of the tradition that ascribes the Jātakaṭṭhakathā to Buddhaghosa. The Commentary was written in Pāli at the request of three theras Atthadassi, Buddhamitta and Buddhadeva. The last thera mentioned belonged to the

1 Sum Vil. Hewavitarana Edn. p. 780.
2 Pap. Sn 1029.
3 SA Sn III 235.
4 Man Sn 854, 855.
5 DhA I I.
6 P. L. C. 95—96.
7 Pāli Literature and Sprache p. 22.
8 DhA IV. 235.
9 P. L. C. 96.
10 P. L. C. 97.

Mahiṃsāsaka sect but the work is based on the Mahāvihāra recension of the Jātaka collection.[1] From this we may justly infer that at least as far as the interpretation of the Jātakas was concerned there existed at this period no antagonistic feeling between the Theravāda and the Mahiṃsāsaka sects.

Paramatthajotikā

The Commentaries on the Khuddakapāṭha and the Suttanipāta are both called by the same name Paramatthajotikā and are attributed to Buddhaghosa. How far this tradition is authentic we shall now try to investigate.

Buddhaghosa's works, about the authorship of which we have no doubt, are written at the request of some thera or other, whereas no such request is mentioned in these two Commentaries. The *patthanā* verses (those expressing the author's aspiration), too, of the Khuddakapāṭha and the Suttanipāta Commentaries, though the one set is identical with the other, are different from those in other works.[2] It is also significant that neither of these two Commentaries is said to be based on the records of the Mahāvihāra fraternity, a fact which Buddhaghosa never fails to mention. These considerations make one doubtful as to the authenticity of the tradition, but are in themselves not sufficient to disprove it.

Something more definite can be said of the Khuddakapāṭha Commentary. In the opening verses, the author expresses how difficult it is for a person such as himself, not understanding the Doctrine, to write a Commentary on the Khuddakas:

Khuddakānaṃ gambhīrattā kiñcāpi ati dukkarā
Vaṇṇanā mādisen'esā abodhantena sāsanaṃ.

However, as the decisions of the ancient teachers (*pubbācariyavinicchayo*) exist up to his day he summons up courage to attempt the task. Such an admission of weakness Buddhaghosa has never recorded in any other work. It is, indeed, unlikely that Buddhaghosa who was capable of compiling a work such as the Visuddhimagga would offer such an apology. Moreover, a good deal of the material in this Commentary appears to be taken almost direct from the Visuddhimagga and the Samantapāsādikā.[3] At the end of the book there appears the usual passage, which is found at the end of all works of Buddhaghosa, containing an eulogy of himself, in which he is described as a person 'possessing unrivalled knowledge in the teachings of the Buddha including the three Piṭakas and the Aṭṭhakathāa' (*tipiṭakapariyattippabhede sāṭṭhakathe satthusāsane appaṭihatañāṇappabhāvena*).[4] How incompatible this is with the introductory verses referred to above!

The peculiar style of this Commentary is also worthy of notice. While commenting on the Ratana Sutta the author states that some teachers held the view that the whole of the Sutta was uttered by the Buddha whereas others held that only the first five were uttered by him. The author then proceeds to say "Let this be so or otherwise. Of what use is this investigation to us? We shall comment on the whole of this Ratana Sutta."[5] An attitude such as this is, indeed, foreign to Buddhaghosa.

1 J. I. I.
2 Compare Pj I 253 and Pj II (2) 608 with Vi II 712, 713 or SV 523, 524.
3 Compare Pj I 37—75 with Vi 239—266.
„ 107—109 with Vi 209—212.
„ 89—98 with Smp. I 4—16.
4 Pj I 253.
5 Ibid. I. 165.

Taking into consideration all these facts we may with justification infer that this Commentary is not a work of Buddhaghosa and that the colophon was added at a time when traditional belief was in favour of attributing it to him. It is also possible that its true author was another Buddhaghosa. Perhaps he was the Buddhaghosa who requested the great commentator to write the Atthasālinī and the Sammohavinodanī.[1]

Further, in spite of the few resemblances that were pointed out earlier between the Commentaries on the Khuddakapāṭha and the Suttanipāta, the following reasons make it very unlikely that they were compilations of the same author :

(1) Full comments are made on the Ratana,[2] Mangala[3] and Metta[4] Suttas in both books. This repetition would have been unnecessary if the same person wrote both.

(2) In the Suttanipāta Commentary the reader is referred to the Visuddhimagga for certain details of the '*dvattiṃsâkāra*'[5] but these are given in full in the Commentary on the Khuddakapāṭha.[6] If the authors were identical we should have expected the same brief treatment in the latter case also.

(3) Similarly in the Suttanipāta Aṭṭhakathā reference is made to the Papañcasūdanī with regard to the explanation of the phrase *evaṃ me sutaṃ*,[7] whereas it is given in detail in the Khuddakapāṭha Aṭṭhakathā.[8]

Commentaries on the Abhidhamma

The Commentaries on the seven Texts belonging to the Abhidhamma Piṭaka were written by Buddhaghosa at the request of another thera of the same name,[9] and are based on the original Sinhalese Commentaries as well as on the accepted interpretations of the Mahāvihāra.[10] They consist of three books, namely, the Atthasālinī on the Dhammasaṅganī, the Sammohavinodanī on the Vibhaṅga, and the Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā on the remaining five Texts, Kathāvatthu, Puggalapaññatti, Dhātukathā, Yamaka and Paṭṭhāna. The Sammohavinodanī contains much information regarding the state of Buddhism in early Ceylon and is perhaps the most valuable of the Pāli Commentaries in that respect.

Buddhaghosa's Successors

The task of writing the Aṭṭhakathās which were left untranslated into Pāli by Buddhaghosa was accomplished by Buddhadatta, Dhammapāla, Upasena, Mahānāma and another thera whose name is now lost to us. These Commentaries are, unfortunately, far less useful than those of Buddhaghosa when considered from the point of view of the light they throw on the religious and social history of Ceylon. Some of these, *e.g.*, the Vimāna and Peta-vatthu and Cariyāpiṭaka Commentaries contain no references at all to any incidents in Ceylon.

1 Att I ; SV 523.
2 Pj I 157 foll., Pj II 278.
3 Pj II 88 foll., Pj II 300.
4 Pj I 231 foll., Pj II 193.
5 Pj II 246, 248, 249.
6 Pj I 37 foll.
7 Pj II 300.
8 Pj I 100 foll.
9 Att I.
10 Att 2, SV I, 523.

Buddhadatta

Buddhadatta was a contemporary of Buddhaghosa. Madhuratthavilāsinī, the Commentary on the Buddhavaṃsa, is attributed to him. At the time of writing this Commentary he was residing in a monastery at Kāvīrapaṭṭana.[1]

Dhammapāla

Dhammapāla was a thera who dwelt at Badaratittha,[2] on the south-east coast of India, a little to the south of Madras, and very probably he was a Dravidian by birth.[3] The time in which he flourished must have been somewhat later than that of Buddhaghosa as the works of the latter are mentioned in some of his Commentaries.[4] The works attributed to him are the Aṭṭhakathās on Udāna, Itivuttaka, Vimānavatthu, Petavatthu, Theragāthā, Therigāthā and Cariyāpiṭaka. All these are called by the name Paramatthadīpanī. Dhammapāla drew material for his works from the ancient Sinhalese Commentaries. It is also likely that he made use of Dravidian Commentaries that were available in his day in South India. The Commentary on the post-Canonical work Netti, too, is attributed to him. This was written at the request of the thera Dhammarakkhita, at a time when Dhammapāla was residing at Nāgapaṭṭana in the vihāra built by King Dhammāsoka.[5]

Saddhammapajjotikā, the Commentary on the Niddesa, was written by the thera Upasena of the Mahā Pariveṇa at the request of the thera Deva.[6] According to the colophon to this book, Upaseṇa, at the time of writing it, was residing at Anurādhapura in the Pariveṇa built by the minister Bhattisena. The work was completed in the twenty-sixth year of King Sirinivāsa Sirisaṅghabodhi.[7] Such a name does not occur in the Mahāvaṃsa and Boruggamuve Revata thera considers this king to be Aggabodhi I of the sixth century A.D.[8]

Mahānāma

Saddhammappakāsinī, the Commentary on the Paṭisambhidāmagga, was written in Pāli in the third year after the death of king Moggallāna by a thera called Mahānāma. At the time of writing this he was living in the monastery built by the minister Uttaramantī.[9] We are unfortunate in not being able to know any more details about this thera.

Lastly we come to Visuddhajanavilāsinī, the Commentary on the Apadāna. It is not possible to say who the author was or when the Commentary was written. The Gandhavaṃsa attributes it to Buddhaghosa.[10] Sorata thera of Māligākanda, Colombo, has, in his admirable preface to the Hewāvitārana edition of the Apadāna Commentary, shown clearly that, in point of both subject matter and style, it cannot be ascribed to Buddhaghosa.[11]

1 For further details *see* P. L. C. 105 foll.
2 UdA 436.
3 P. L. C. 113.
4 Vi in UdA 24, 236, 268, 283 ; SV in UdA 33, 43 ; Att in CpA 14 ; NA 170, 174.
5 NA 1, 233.
6 CNIA 108, MNi A. I.
7 CuNiA 108
8 Introduction to the Mahāniddesa Aṭṭhakathā, Hew. Edn. p. iv.
9 PsmA 526.
10 J. P. T. S. for 1886 p. 69.
11 ApA Preface pp. iv, v.

CHAPTER TWO

The Sources of the Pali Commentaries

WHEN Buddhaghosa came to Ceylon there were already in the island many collections of commentarial matter preserved mainly in the Sinhalese language. Some of these collections were in book form, others as scattered literature embodying the views of learned teachers of the past. Buddhaghosa and the other commentators often refer to them quoting them as authorities.

Among the more important of these may be mentioned :

1. Mahā-aṭṭhakathā or Mūla-aṭṭhakathā
2. Mahāpaccariya-aṭṭhakathā
3. Kurundi-aṭṭhakathā
4. Andhakaṭṭhakathā
5. Saṃkhepaṭṭhakathā
6. Vinayaṭṭhakathā
7. Suttantaṭṭhakathā
8. Āgamaṭṭhakathā
9. Dīghaṭṭhakathā
10. Majjhimaṭṭhakathā
11. Saṃyuttaṭṭhakathā
12. Aṅguttaraṭṭhakathā
13. Abhidhammaṭṭhakathā
14. Sīhalaṭṭhakathā
15. Aṭṭhakathā (in the singular number)
16. Aṭṭhakathā (in the plural number)
17. Aṭṭhakathācariyā
18. Ācariyā
19. Ācariyavāda
20. Ācariyamata
21. Therasallāpa
22. Parasamuddavāsī therā
23. Vitaṇḍavādī
24. Porāṇā
25. Porāṇakattherā
26. Porāṇâcariyā
27. Porāṇaṭṭhakathā
28. Bhāṇakā

Before proceeding further it should be mentioned that only a few of these were distinct works. Some, for example, the Sīhalaṭṭhakathā, the Suttantaṭṭhakathā and Abhidammaṭṭhakathā comprised whole groups of works, whereas some were possibly merely alternative names for others mentioned in the list.

Sīhalaṭṭhakathā

It is not possible to say how many works were meant by the term Sīhalaṭṭhakathā (the Sinhalese Commentary). The Mahā-aṭṭhakathā, the Mahāpaccarī-aṭṭhakathā and the Kurundi-aṭṭhakathā were among them ; and according to Buddhaghosa there were other Commentaries as well which were well known though perhaps not to the same extent.[1] The greatest number of references to these is made in the Samantapāsādikā.[2] Tradition is that the Sīhalaṭṭhakathā comprised the Commentaries brought by Mahinda to Ceylon and preserved there in the Sinhalese language.[3] They evidently contained superfluous material, for Buddhaghosa mentions as a part of the task in his translation the removal of the error of repetition which he found in the originals.[4] There were also places where an explanation did not tally with the Canonical Text and where Buddhaghosa had to give preference to the latter.[5]

Mahā-aṭṭhakathā

Of these Sinhalese compilations the Mahā- or the Mūla-aṭṭhakathā occupied the foremost position. Most of the works of Buddhaghosa have drawn on this Commentary for their substance.[6] As is evidenced from the references made to it in the respective Aṭṭhakathās, it contained expositions on all the three Piṭakas.[7] It was more complete in its contents than the other Commentaries.[8] Expositions of words left unexplained in them were often found here.[9] Buddhaghosa usually, though not always, prefers the Mahā-aṭṭhakathā to the Mahāpaccarī and the Kurundī.[10] The great regard with which he held it is clearly expressed more than once.[11] In some cases the interpretations given in the several Commentaries are recorded and the decision is left open.[12] Mention is also made by Buddhaghosa of some faults in this Commentary (Mahā-Aṭṭhakathā) that were due to slip of the pen[13] as well as of places where the exposition appeared to contradict the Text.[14] Further, the Samantapāsādikā has recorded instances where certain Ceylonese teachers before Buddhaghosa's time differed from the interpretations given in the Mahā-aṭṭhakathā. One such teacher was the thera Mahāpaduma[15] of the first century A.D.

According to the Paramatthajotikā, the Mahā-aṭṭhakathā did not contain comments on the last two verses of the Kokālika Sutta in the Suttanipāta. The author of the Paramatthajotikā is therefore inclined to consider that the original Sutta did not have these two verses.[16] The fact recorded here

1 Smp I p. 2 v. 10.
2 *See e.g.*, Smp I 2, 265, 266, 283; Smp II 288, 299, 300, 317, 318, 330, 349, 360, 376, 377, 454, 494, 496; Smp III 537, 616, 627, 716, 718; Smp Sn II I, 9, 26, etc.
3 SA I I, Pap I I, Att I.
4 Pap I I.
5 Commentary on the Yamaka. J. P. T. S. 1912 p. 83.
6 Smp 1 2, Pap Sn 1030, SA Sn III 235, Man Sn 855.
7 (*a*) Vinaya: *See* references in note 10 below.
(*b*) Sutta SumVil I 180, 182; Pap I 33, II 204; SA II 179, Pj II 202
(*c*) Abhidhamma: Att 80, 82, 86, 107, 157, 410; Pug. Pañ. Com. in J.P.T.S. 1914 p. 235.
8 *See e.g.*, Pj II 202.
9 Smp II 349.
10 Smp II, 317, 346, III 537, Smp Sn II 31. For preference given to other Commentaries over the Mahā-aṭṭhakathā *see* Smp II 319, III 537, 617, 716, 726.
11 Smp II 448, III 701.
12 Ibid II 496.
13 „ II 311.
14 „ II 300.
15 Smp I 283, II 454.
16 Pj II (2) 477.

is significant because it points with more or less certainty to a specific instance of an addition, however small, made to the Pāli Canon a considerable time after it was brought to Ceylon and probably after it was committed to writing at Mātula Janapada.

There is also evidence that the Mahā-aṭṭhakathā contained a large number of anecdotes based on incidents that took place in Ceylon.[1] Buddhaghosa included in his Commentaries only a few of these stories which, had they been preserved in their entirety, would have given us a much clearer insight into the conditions of ancient Ceylon than we are able to have at present.

Mahāpaccarī and Kurundī Aṭṭhakathās

The Mahāpaccarī and Kurundī Aṭṭhakathās were so named because they were composed on a raft (*paccarī*) and in the Krundivelu Vihāra respectively in Ceylon.[2] As far as I am aware these two Commentaries are referred to only in the Samantapāsādikā and there, too, they are invariably mentioned along with the Mahā-aṭṭhakathā. In a few instances the expositions given in these two are preferred to those given in the other.[3]

Andhakaṭṭhakathā

The Andhakaṭṭhakathā was handed down at Kāñcipura (Conjevaram) in South India,[4] and very likely it was written in the Andhaka language. It is often referred to by Buddhaghosa in his Samantapāsādikā. He refers to it not so much to agree with its expositions as to find fault with them. Sometimes he is harsh in his criticism. 'This is wrongly said'[5], 'That agrees neither with the Aṭṭhakathā nor with the Canon, and therefore should not be accepted'[6]—these are some of the expressions that Buddhaghosa uses in refuting the Andhakaṭṭhakathā explanations. Buddhaghosa refers also to certain expositions of the Vinaya which were based on conditions that prevailed in the Andha country and were therefore not of general application.[7] A view expressed by the thera Mahāsumma of Ceylon on the interpretation of a certain Vinaya rule is regarded in the Andhakaṭṭhakathā as an authoritative statement.[8] This thera lived in the first century A.D., and, therefore, we may conclude that the Commentary was written at a date later than that century.

Saṅkhepa-Aṭṭhakathā

Another Commentary that is mentioned in the Samantapāsādikā is the Saṅkhepa-aṭṭhakathā or the 'short Commentary'. From the fragmentary evidence of the Samantapāsādikā as to the contents of the Saṅkhepa Commentary it appears that it had much in common with the Mahāpaccarī[9] and it is possible that it was an abridged version of the same. According to Vijesinha 'the Sāraṭṭha Dīpanī and the Vimati Vinodanī Ṭīkās enumerate two works called Andhakaṭṭhakathā and Saṅkhepaṭṭhakathā, but the

1 Smp II 474, Att 80.
2 P. L. C. 91.
3 Mahāpaccarī (preferred) Smp II 319, III 617.
Kurundī (preferred) Smp Sn II 59.
Kurundī (rejected) Smp II 346, III 688, Smp Sn II 401.
4 P. L. C. 92
5 Smp III 697, Smp Sn II 204.
6 Smp Sn II 8, 18, 214, 222.
7 Ibid. p. 8.
8 Smp III 646.
9 *See* Smp II 317, 381, 454.

Vajira Buddhi Ṭīkā gives Cullapaccarī and Andhakaṭṭhakathā.'[1] This, too, leads us to suppose that the Saṅkhepaṭṭhakathā was perhaps the same as the Cullapaccarī (small or abridged Paccarī).[2]

Vinayaṭṭhakathā, etc.

In addition to works such as the Mahā-aṭṭhakathā which dealt with the whole Canon there were also Commentaries that were restricted to the diferent branches of the three Piṭakas. Thus the Visuddhimagga refers to a group of works called the Vinayaṭṭhakathā. Sometimes the word used is in the singular number,[3] sometimes in the plural.[4] This probably means that there were more than one Commentary on the Vinaya and also perhaps that there was one which was more important than the others and which therefore could be called *the* Vinayaṭṭhakathā. We find similar references to Commentaries on the Sutta as well as on the Abhidhamma. The Visuddhimagga mentions also the Suttantaṭṭhakathās,[5] the Majjhimaṭṭhakathā,[6] the Saṃyuttaṭṭhakathā,[7] and the Aṅguttaraṭṭhakathā[8] and the Abhidhammaṭṭhakathā.[9] As the Visuddhimagga was the first work of Buddhaghosa in Ceylon, these references must necessarily be to the Commentaries that existed already in Ceylon when he came to the island. A Dīghaṭṭhakathā, too, is mentioned in the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī[10] and this, again, is evidently a work that was in Ceylon at the time of Buddhaghosa's arrival in the island.

The Atthasālinī refers to some Āgamaṭṭhakathās.[11] Very likely these were the Commentaries on the four Āgamas or Nikāyas referred to in the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī and Visuddhimagga as the Dīgha–, Majjhima–, Saṃyutta– and Aṅguttara-aṭṭhakathās. That these Āgamaṭṭhakathās were separate works and not merely sections of the Mahā-aṭṭhakathā, which also contained commentarial matter on the four Āgamas is to be inferred from a passage in the Atthasālinī which mentions side by side both the Āgamaṭṭhakathās and the Mahā-aṭṭhakathā.[12]

Moreover, the existence of a separate Commentary on the Jātakas is evident from a reference to it in the Pāli Jātakaṭṭhakathā.[13]

Aṭṭhakathā and Aṭṭhakathās

Quotations made by Buddhaghosa and his successors from *the* Aṭṭhakathā and the Aṭṭhakathās are numerous.[14] As was mentioned in connection with the Commentaries on the Vinaya here, too, *the* Aṭṭhakathā, when it occurs in any Pāli Commentary, refers very probably not to the Maha-aṭṭha-

1 J. R. A. S. 1870 (Vol. V, New Series) p. 298.
2 For other references to Saṅkhepaṭṭhakathā *see* Smp II 311, 359, 477, 494, 496.
3 Vi I 272. Also *see* Pj I 97.
4 Ibid. I 72.
5 Vi I 272.
6 Ibid. I 72, 184, II 547.
7 Ibid. II 387, 432.
8 Ibid. I 315. A section of the Aṅguttaraṭṭhakathā is also mentioned by Buddhaghosa under the title Dukanipātaṭṭhakathā. Vi I 142.
9 Ibid. II 547.
10 Sum Vil I 87.
11 Att 188, 189.
12 Att 86. Āgamanaṭṭhakathāsu in the P. T. S. text is clearly a misprint for Āgamaṭṭhakathāsu.
13 J. I. 62.
14 Aṭṭhakathā (sing.) Vi I 61, 82, 225, 316, II 384, 409, 449, 450, Sum Vil II 543, 652, 686, III 754, SV 56, 155, 200, Pap I 240, II 285, Man I 49, UdA 80, 83, 324.
Aṭṭhakathā (plural) Vi I 138, 172, 180, 193, 280, 285, II 432, 527, UdA 33, 94, 127, 328.

kathā but to the corresponding Sinhalese Commentary;[1] for example, when the word Aṭṭhakathā (in the singular number) occurs in the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī it denotes the Sinhalese Dīghanikāya-aṭṭhakathā. But when the word occurs in the Visuddhimagga we may be more or less certain that it refers to the Mahā-aṭṭhakathā which was the Sinhalese Commentary *par excellence*. There are also instances where the word Aṭṭhakathā is used in a wider sense to denote the Commentarial Literature in contradistinction to the Pāli or the Canonical Texts.[2] The Aṭṭhakathās (in the plural number) on the other hand, refer to the original Sinhalese Commentaries in general. With this difference in mind we may deal with the references to the Aṭṭhakathā and the Aṭṭhakathās as relating merely to the whole group of the Sinhalese and some of the Dravidian Commentaries.

Buddhaghosa is very cautious when he deals with Canonical matter left unexplained in the Commentaries that were before him. Sometimes he explains a point and hastens to add a clause of apologetic warning: 'As this has not been handed down in the Commentaries it should be accepted after investigation' (*Aṭṭhakathāsu pana anāgatattā vimaṃsetvā gahetabbaṃ*).[3] Even when Buddhaghosa is forced by his own reasoning to disagree with the Aṭṭhakathās he hesitates to give his definite opinion. "As it is said in all the Aṭṭhakathās" he says sometimes "it is not possible to reject (the explanation). What is correct should be found out or the Commentators should be taken on trust."[4] The Aṭṭhakathā explanations are always preferred to those advanced by such well known teachers as Mahāsiva,[5] Tipiṭaka Cūlābhaya[6] and Ābhidhammika Godha.[7]

These Commentaries, though they were compiled in the Sinhalese language, appear to have contained Pāli verses. We find only a few verses definitely attributed to the Aṭṭhakathās,[8] but it is possible that there were many such verses. There are numerous verse passages in the Pāli Commentaries the sources of which we are unable to trace, and it may be that many of these were preserved in the original Sinhalese Commentaries as mnemonic verses.

Aṭṭhakathikā and Aṭṭhakathācariyā

Closely connected with the term Aṭṭhakathā are the words Aṭṭhakathikā and Aṭṭhakathācariyā. Those who studied and handed down the Aṭṭhakathās were known as the Aṭṭhakathikas.[9] By the other term were generally understood the teachers (*ācariyā*) responsible for the compilation of the Aṭṭhakathās.[10] Buddhaghosa holds the Aṭṭhakathācariyas[11] in high esteem and says that they knew the intentions of the Buddha and therefore their word should be taken as authority.[1] Pāli verses, too, are found attributed to the Aṭṭhakathācariyas.[2]

1 As it can be inferred from Smp II 300.
2 *See* Vi I 96, 99, 107.
3 Att 99, Sum Vil I 73.
4 Smp Sn II 21, *See* also Vi I 138. (These, it may be remarked incidentally, are further instances which clearly show that Buddhaghosa did not include his own views in the Pāli Commentaries).
5 Att 267.
6 Pap Sn 902.
7 Vi I 138. For other instances of views rejected by Buddhaghosa on the ground that they were not found or explained otherwise in the Aṭṭhakathās, *See* Att 421 Vi II 375, Sum Vil III 1001.
8 Smp I 240, II 437; PsmA 474.
9 Pj I 151.
10 An instance, however, of the use of the word Aṭṭhakathācariyā in a sense identical with that of Aṭṭhakathikā is found in Vi I 62.
11 For some of the references to Aṭṭhakathācariyā *See* Vi I 103, 332; Sum Vil I 187; Pap I 59, 225, 255, Man II 53; SV 310, 350; Att 123; Sum Vil II 481; ItA 25; UdA 55; Pj I 110, PsmA 367.

Ācariyavāda, Ācariyamata and Ācariyā

The Ācariyavādas (talks or expositions of the teachers) are the same as the Aṭṭhakathās (*Ācariyavādo nāma Aṭṭhakathā*),[3] and in degree of authenticity are second only to the Canonical Texts. If any views expressed in the Ācariyavādas do not agree with the Suttantas the former are to be rejected.[4]

The individual views or opinions expressed by well known teachers are classed as the Ācariyamatas (opinions of teachers) and are different from the Aṭṭhakathā expositions.[5] These opinions, if they are not corroborated by the Text or the Commentary, are not to be regarded as essentially correct.[6]

Similar in significance to the Ācariyamatas are the expositions attributed to the Ācariyas (teachers) referred to often in the Pāli Commentaries as *Ācariyā vadanti* and *Ācariyā kathayanti* (the teachers say). The great theras such as Mahāpaduma[7] belong to this group of teachers.[8]

Therasallāpa

A discussion that took place among the theras Kāḷhālavāsī Sumana, Lokuttaravāsī Cūlasiva and Dīghabhāṇaka Tipiṭaka Mahāsiva is mentioned in the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī as a *Therasallāpa*.[9] As to its value a therasallāpa is evidently equal to an Ācariyamata. The opinions expressed by similar teachers, but whose names have not been preserved, are given in the Commentaries with the simple introduction: *keci vadanti* (some say) or *keci vaṇṇayanti* (some describe).[10]

Parasamuddavāsī Therā

Some views of theras who lived outside Ceylon have also been preserved. They are referred to as the views of *Parasamuddavāsī therā* (theras living on the other side of the ocean).[11]

The term *Ācariyānaṃ samānatthakathā* (identical expositions of the teachers) also occurs frequently, and is invariably found in connection with the refutation of the views proclaimed by the Vitaṇḍavādins.[12] It is difficult to say whether these different views and opinions of eminent teachers of old which are now incorporated in the Pāli Commentaries were found recorded in the original Sinhalese Commentaries or whether they were found preserved separately in the Mahāvihāra.

1 Smp Sn II 12. *See* also Sv 316.
2 Att 85; Smp Sn II 218.
3 Sum Vil II 567. *See* also Vi I 96.
4 Sum Vil II 568.
5 Att 223.
6 Vi I 107.
7 More about these theras will be given in a subsequent chapter.
8 *See e.g.*, Smp I 283.
9 Sum Vil III 882.
10 Pap I 35, 38.
11 Pap Sn 718, 721, 730.
12 Att 90, 92, 241; Pap Sn 572.

Pāli Sources

Buddhaghosa drew his material not only from Sinhalese and Dravidian but also from Pāli sources such as the Milindapañha,[1] Peṭakopadesa[2] and the Dīpavaṃsa. The last is quoted in the Samantapāsādikā[3] and in the Kathāvatthu Commentary.[4] The passages referred to in the Samantapāsādikā do not agree fully with the Dīpavaṃsa as we have it now.[5]

In addition to these we find in the Visuddhimagga certain verses—not yet traced—referring to two Ceylonese theras : Mahātissa of Cetiyapabbata and Ambakhādaka Mahātissa of Cīvaragumba.[6] These verses are very similar in style and subject matter to those in the Theragāthā and it is possible that there was in Ceylon an anthology of Pāli verses composed after the model of this Canonical Text. The Samantapāsādikā, too, has preserved two stanzas attributed to the two Sinhalese theras Mahāsumma and Mahāpaduma.[7]

Porāṇas

We now come to another important source of the Pāli Commentaries, namely, the *Porāṇā* or the ' Ancients '. Considering the significant part played by them in our Commentaries it may not be out of place here to deal with the question at some length.

As to what is denoted by the term Porāṇā several interpretations have been put forward by scholars both eastern and western. More than half a century ago Hermann Oldenberg identified the Porāṇas with the Porāṇaṭṭhakathā.[8] Mrs. Rhys Davids is of a different opinion. She remarks : " These Porāṇas were not included among the Canonical compilers, or they would be quoted as such. They appear to have been of later date. They are the ' Fathers ' of the Theravāda Sāsana. They represent, in so far as they speak philosophically, the philosophy built up on the simpler archaically expressed teachings of the Suttas. They were cultured men according to the light of their day. But they were working along a line of thinking that was ' orthodox ' and therefore no longer free. And they do not represent the missionary mood of the Sutta teachers, anxious above all things to ' save souls '. They were the bookmen, the academicians, the cloistered scribes of the new predominant ' Buddhist ' culture."[9]

Having noted the views of these scholars we shall now proceed to examine the data available on the subject in the writings of Buddhaghosa and the other commentators.[10] We shall first see how the quotations are distributed and what their nature is.

In the Pāli Commentaries, including the Visuddhimagga, there are altogether 116 quotations of which 85 are verse, 29 prose and 2 short sentences

1 Vi II 438. Sometimes passages are taken from the Milindapañha without acknowledging the source (*see* Vi I 283 foot note 1) ; and once a Milinda passage is quoted as from the Porāṇas (Vi I 270).
2 Vi I 141. Smp I 143, MNiA 224.
3 Smp I 74, 75.
4 Kathāvatthu Commentary in J. P. T. S. 1889 p. 3.
5 *See* Oldenberg's Edition pp. 59, 61.
6 Vi I 21, 47.
7 Smp III 538.
8 Oldenberg: Dīp. pp. 2, 3. For Porāṇaṭṭhakathā *see* SV 1; UdA 2, 436; CpA 1
9 Bgh p. vii.
10 A collection of the quotations from the Porāṇas found in all the Pāli Commentaries is given in Appendix II A & B.

which are probably prose though they may also be fragments of two stanzas. The greater part of these are to be found in Buddhaghosa's works. The Niddesa Commentary of Upasena and the Paṭisambhidāmagga Commentary of Mahānāma are also rich in them, whereas they are scanty in the Commentaries of Dhammapāla. The Commentary on the post-Canonical book Netti has one verse quotation.

The following table shows how the passages are distributed :

	Verse		Prose	Verse or Prose?	Total No. of references
	No. of references	No. of verses			
Visuddhimagga	19	41	4	2	25
Samantapāsādikā	9	25	—	—	9
Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī	—	—	—	—	—
Atthasālinī	1	1	1	—	2
Sammohavinodanī	2	2	1	—	3
Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā	—	—	—	—	—
Sumaṅgalavilāsinī	6	7	5	—	11
Papañcasūdanī	8	9	7	—	15
Sāratthappakāsinī	8	16	—	—	8
Manorathapūraṇī	2	3	2	—	4
Khuddakapāṭha Aṭṭhakathā	—	—	2	—	2
Dhammapada ,,	—	—	—	—	—
Udāna ,,	2	6	2	—	4
Itivuttaka ,,	2	3	—	—	2
Suttanipāta ,,	1	1	3	—	4
Vimānavatthu ,,	—	—	—	—	—
Petavatthu ,,	—	—	—	—	—
Theragāthā ,,	—	—	—	—	—
Therigāthā ,,	—	—	—	—	—
Jātaka ,,	—	—	—	—	—
Niddesa ,,	6	8	2	—	8
Paṭisambhidāmagga ,,	13	14	—	—	13
Apadāna ,,	4	4	—	—	4
Buddhavaṃsa ,,	1	1	—	—	1
Cariyāpiṭaka ,,	—	—	—	—	—
Netti ,,	1	1	—	—	1
TOTAL	85	142	29	2	116

Sometimes the same verse or prose passage occurs in more than one Aṭṭhakathā. For example, the verse :

Bhagavā ti vacanaṃ seṭṭhaṃ Bhagavā ti vacanam uttamaṃ
Garugāravayutto so Bhagavā tena vuccati.

occurs in twelve Commentaries—in one, namely, Paramatthajotikā I it does not however occur as a quotation from the Porāṇas—and the verse

Yathā thambhe nibandheyya vaccham damaṃ naro idha
Bandheyy'evaṃ sakaṃ cittaṃ satiyârammaṇe daḷhaṃ

occurs in six.[1] When the repetitions are removed the 142 verses reduce themselves to 90.[2] It is interesting to note that nearly one-fifth of this number—17 verses to be exact—is found, though not under the name of the Porāṇas, in the Vimuktisaṅgraha, a Sinhalese prose work interspersed freely with Pāli verse and prose, and composed at a comparatively modern date.

We are, however, not justified in arriving at the conclusion that the list given above exhausts the number of the quotations from the Porāṇas, though they certainly are the only ones definitely called by that name in the Commentaries. Three verses given in the Sāratthappakāsinī[3] without any reference as to their source are ascribed to the Porāṇas in the Visuddhimagga.[4] Similarly two verses in the Buddhavaṃsa Commentary[5] and one in the Paramatthajotikā[6] occur as quotations from the Porāṇas in some other Aṭṭhakathās.[7] As was already observed in another connection, there are in the Pali Commentaries very many verse quotations the sources of which have so far not been traced. It is quite possible that some of these may belong to the Porāṇas also. This fact remains—and perhaps will remain for ever—an obstacle in the way of our obtaining definite knowledge as to the real nature of the Porāṇas.

A glance at the Porāṇa passages shows that they, in some measure or other, deal with every aspect of the teachings of the Buddha, and also that many of them reveal a Commentarial nature. The subjects dealt with range from mere points of grammar to deep philosophical speculation, from pure legendary matter to history. The following brief survey will make this more clear.

On the Vinaya rules

Buddhaghosa, on the authority of the Porāṇas, says that a Vinayadhara bhikkhu in trying another bhikkhu on a charge of theft should take into consideration the following five points: the thing stolen, the time when and the country where the theft took place, the value of the stolen property, and also whether it had been used by its owner.[8]

Admonitions in the practice of jhāna

There is a considerable number of passages which are of the nature of advice given to bhikkhus in the practice of jhāna. For instance, a bhikkhu who "enters into jhāna, after thoroughly purifying the other obstructions to concentration, abides in his attainment the whole day like a bee that has entered its well-cleaned abode, or like a king who has entered a well-tidied garden. Hence said the Ancients:

"One should dispel desire for sense, ill-will,
And worry, torpor, doubt as filth, with mind
Delighting in seclusion, as a king
Delights on entering a clean retreat."[9]

1 *See* Appendix II A and B.
2 *See* Appendix II A.
3 "*Obhāse c'eva ñāne ca* " etc., SA II 201.
4 Vi II 637, 638.
5 BuA 14.
6 Pj I 107.
7 *See* Appendix I A
8 Smp II 305.
9 Vi I 152; P.P. II 175.

Admonition to lead the higher life

The admonition of the Porāṇas to a bhikkhu to lead the higher life and gain the *amata* or the deathless state is to act like one whose head is ablaze.

"Seeing these eight supreme advantages,
The sage reviews break-up and contemplates
Repeatedly to gain the deathless state,
Like one whose head is wrapped in blazing cloth"[1]

Reflections on impermanence, etc.

A bhikkhu should reflect on the breaking up of the complexes (*saṅkhārā*) and know that what is called death is their breaking up; and that there is nothing else. Hence the Ancients say:

"The aggregates are ceasing; there's nought else.
The break-up of the aggregates is death.
The ardent man wisely their loss discerns,
As though a gem were drilled with adamant."[2]

On the Abhidhamma

Practically all the Porāṇa quotations on the Abhidhamma are found in the Visuddhimagga. They are numerous and noteworthy in that they represent a stage in the Abhidhamma more systematic and developed than the Canonical Texts and in that they try, as Mrs. Rhys Davids points out,[3] to lay great emphasis on the Anattā or non-soul doctrine. This is evident from the following quotation given in the Vissudhimagga:

"There is here truly name-and-form,
Wherein exists no being or man.
'Tis void and fashioned like a doll,
A lump of ill, like grass and sticks."[4]

Sutta Nomenclature

Not only were the Porāṇas considered as authorities on the exposition of the Vinaya and the Abhidhamma, but in the Sutta also their views were much respected. Buddhaghosa tells us that the Anumāna Sutta[5] of the Majjhimanikāya was called the Bhikkhupātimokkha by the Porāṇas.[6] In the exposition of the Pārāyana Sutta, too, the Porāṇas are quoted as authority.[7]

Incidents in the life of the Buddha

Certain alleged incidents in the life of the Buddha are alluded to in some Porāṇa verses. One passage describes how he walked immediately after his birth,[8] and another how he went to the Santhāgāra Hall at Kapilavatthu.[9]

Legend

The Paramatthajotikā records the following legendary account given by the Porāṇas as to the origin of the town of Vesāli. In days gone by, the

1 Vi II 645; P.P. III 788.
2 Vi 644, P.P. III 786.
3 Bgh p. viii.
4 Vi II 595, P.P. III 718.
5 M Sutta No. 15.
6 Pap II 67.
7 Pj II (2) 604
8 Sum Vil I 61
9 SA Sn III 66

chief queen of the king of Benares gave birth to a lump of flesh. This was thrown into the river, but, under the protection of the devatās, reached the hands of a hermit, in whose hermitage it separated itself into two portions and in course of time became a prince and a princess. Later on they were brought up by cowherds and ultimately they became the king and queen of a newly established town. As the town was enlarged again and again (*punappuna ' visāli ' katattā*) it became known as *Vesāli*.[1]

Historical Incidents

From legend we now turn to history. The Samantapāsādikā, after giving in prose certain incidents relating to the coming of Mahinda to Ceylon, quotes some Porāṇa verses as authority for the same.[2] Again, a series of such verses is given to show the continuity in the line of teachers from the time of Mahinda to a later date.[3] Some of these verses are very similar to those found in the Dīpavaṃsa.[4]

Cosmology

Nor has cosmology escaped the notice of the Porāṇas. Buddhaghosa gives their ideas as to how this world is situated.

" The great world's rocky rim sinks in the deep
Eighty-two thousand yojanas, its height
Identical, encircling the whole world."[5]

Exegetical Matter

There are also several references of an exegetical nature. These are mostly in prose. The author of the Khuddakapāṭha Commentary defines *manussā* (men) as *Manuno apaccā* (sons or descendants of Manu), and then gives the Porāṇa definition which is *mana-ussannatāya manussā* (men are so called because they are mentally exalted).[6]

Grammar

A passage occurring thrice in the Commentaries explains the usage of a grammatical construction. It points out that there is no difference in meaning between *tasmiṃ samaye* and *tena samayena* or *taṃ samayaṃ*.[7]

Description of Canonical Texts

The Papañcasūdanī and the Apadāna Aṭṭhakathā afford instances of another type. Buddhaghosa on the authority of the Porāṇas records that the Majjhimanikāya consists of 80,523 words (*pada*)[8] and the author of the Apadāna Commentary gives similarly the number of *Apadānas* in the Text.[9]

Closely allied to the references to the Porāṇas are those to the Porāṇakattherā (the theras of old), Pubbācariyā (former teachers), Porāṇācariyā (teachers of old) and Aṭṭhakathācariyā (teachers of Commentaries). It will now be seen whether these terms signified different men or were used indiscriminately to denote the same teachers or groups of teachers.

1 Pj I 158, foll.
2 Smp I 70, 71
3 Ibid . p. 62
4 *See* Dīp. 12. vv 12, 35—37
5 Vi I 206, P.P. II 238
6 Pj I 123
7 UpA 23, Man I 13, Pap. I 10
8 Pap I 2
9 ApA 84

Porāṇakattherā

A collection of passages referring to the Porāṇakattheras is given in Appendix II D. It will be observed that the references to them are considerably different from those to the Porānas. In them there is not a single verse passage. In one instance the opinion of the Porāṇakattheras is definitely set aside and another interpretation advanced by the original commentator (or commentators) of the Aṅguttaranikāya.[1] In the other passages, too, the general tendency is not to take their views as authority, as it is the case with the Porāṇa passages, but to record them as explanatory or parallel notes. We are thus led to draw the inference that the Porāṇas are not the same as the Porāṇakattheras.

Pubbācariyā

In the opening verses of the Khuddakapāṭha Aṭṭhakathā, its author states that in spite of his scanty knowledge of the sāsana, he is attempting to write the Commentary because the decisions of the former teachers (*pubbācariya-vinicchaya*) are extant up to his day. Immediately after this he says that he intends to base his work on the *porāṇa-vinicchaya* (the decisions of the ancients)[2] from which we may plausibly infer that the Pubbācariyas are the same as the Porāṇas.

A quotation in the Visuddhimagga, too, strengthens this inference. Buddhaghosa desires his readers to realize how difficult it is to acquire a proper understanding of the *Paṭiccasamuppāda* (causal happening). To prove his case he quotes a verse from the Porāṇas.[3] However, he proceeds to expound this difficult doctrine in view of the fact that the sāsana is ' adorned with manifold ways of expression ' (*nānā desanā naya maṇḍitaṃ*) and that the path of the former teachers (*pubbācariya-maggo*) proceeds in unbroken continuity. Then he requests his readers to listen to him attentively and quotes a verse from the Pubbācariyas (*vuttaṃ h'etaṃ Pubbācariyehi*) to point out the benefits of listening attentively to this doctrine.[4] Both these verses are on the same topic and the manner, too, in which Buddhaghosa has quoted them, gives us the impression that he is drawing his material from the same source.

Porāṇācariyā

The term Porāṇācariyā also occurs fairly frequently in the Pāli Commentaries. One naturally feels inclined to ask the question ' Are the Porāṇācariyas the same as the Porāṇas ?' The Gandhavaṃsa defines the Porāṇācariyas as the *dhammasaṅgāhaka theras* or the theras who took part in the three Councils, but with the exception of Mahākaccāyana.[5] Now, in the Milindapañha a certain verse is ascribed by Nāgasena to the *dhammasaṅgāhaka theras*.[6] This same verse, as pointed out by Mrs. Rhys Davids, occurs in the Visuddhimagga as a quotation from the Porāṇas.[7] Thus, with regard to this verse at least, the Porāṇas are the same as the Porāṇācariyas, both being the same as the *dhammasaṅgāhakas*. The Gandhavaṃsa goes further

1 Man II 26
2 Pj I 11
3 Vi II 522
4 Ibid. 523
5 J. P. T. S. 1886 pp. 58, 5
6 Mil 369
7 Vi I 270

to assert a connection between the Porāṇācariyas and the Aṭṭhakathācariyas (*Ye Porāṇācariyā te yeva Aṭṭhakathācariyā*).[1]

If what has been pointed out in the preceding paragraph is correct we may infer the possibility of a close connection between the Porāṇas and the Aṭṭhakathācariyas.

Buddhaghosa, commenting on the Mūlapariyāya Sutta of the Majjhimanikāya, gives the Aṭṭhakathā exposition of the phrase *paṭhaviṃ abhinandati*, and coming to the next phrase *paṭhaviṃ maññati* says that it has the same meaning as the previous one but that the reason for this repetition has not been discussed by the Porāṇas. Then he proceeds to give his own opinion (*ayaṃ pana me attano mati*).[2] Here, evidently, Buddhaghosa takes Porāṇā in the sense of Aṭṭhakathācariyā.

Once more, while commenting on the Āsivisopama Sutta of the Saṃyuttanikāya, he quotes four verses from the Aṭṭhakathācariyas (*ten'āhu Aṭṭhakathācariyā*). A while later he quotes four more verses of a similar nature, but this time from the Porāṇas (*ten'āhu Porāṇā*).[3]

Further, the commentator of the Suttanipāta gives a very brief introduction to the Ratana Sutta and remarks that the Porāṇas open their exposition of this Sutta from the beginning of the story connected with (the building up of) Vesāli.[4] Here, again, it is likely that the word Porāṇā has the same significance. But these instances are not sufficient for us to arrive at a decision about the identity of the two.

Porāṇaṭṭhakathā

This leads us to the further problem of the relationship between the Porāṇas and the Porāṇaṭṭhakathā (the ancient Commentary). As we have observed earlier Oldenberg was convinced that the two were identically the same. Geiger, too, is of the same opinion. He points out that the Porāṇaṭṭhakathā which formed the basis of the Mahāvaṃsa is nothing other than the work of the Porāṇas mentioned in its proem (1.2) and in the description of the Mahāthūpa (29–24) and also mentioned seven times in the Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā.[5] Gieger's argument is to me convincing.

On the other hand I cannot agree with Malalasekara when he suggests that Buddhaghosa's references are to anonymous teachers of old, whose expositions were not necessarily embodied in the Commentaries but were handed down in various schools.[6] We have seen a remark of Buddhaghosa in the Papañcasūdanī about an explanation left out by the Porāṇas. If the Porāṇa interpretations were handed down in various schools by oral tradition, such a remark as that could have been made only by one who had carefully studied the traditions of all those schools. Buddhaghosa's stay in Ceylon was however too brief for us to assume that he could have studied them fully. But this would have been an easy matter if the Porāṇa interpretations were available to him in the form of a compilation, either as a separate collection or embodied in the Commentaries themselves or if the Porāṇas were the same as the Aṭṭhakathācariyas, a probability before noted.

1 J. P. T. S. 1886 p 59
2 Pap I 28
3 S.A. Sn III 40, 41
4 Pj II 278
5 D & M pp. 44 foll.
6 P. L. C.. 92

Further, the fact that prose passages of identical form are found quoted more than once[1] suggests strongly that the commentators drew those prose passages from a written compilation.

The Porāṇas were undoubtedly revered teachers of old and they must have played an important part in the formation and stabilising of the Theravāda school. They had their origin in India as is evidenced by the verses attributed to the *dhammasangāhaka* theras in the Milindapañha and to which we have made reference earlier. Probably they were not known in India by the name Porāṇā. It may be that their views and interpretations of the Doctrine were incorporated in an old Commentary, and that when other new Commentaries such as the Mahā-aṭṭhakathā, Mahāpaccarī and the Kurundī came to be written this old Commentary was called the Porāṇaṭṭhakathā, and the teachers whose views were incorporated in it were termed the Porāṇā or the 'teachers of old'. Still later the distinction between the views of these teachers of old and the rest of the contents of the old Commentary may have disappeared and the term 'Porāṇā' and Porāṇaṭṭhakathā acquired the same significance. Even as the shortened form 'Kurundī' was often used instead of the word Kurundaṭṭhakathā, so also the word 'Porāṇā' may have been used to denote the Porāṇaṭṭhakathā.

We are, unfortunately, not in a position to know how many of the Porāṇa quotations refer to the views of Ceylonese theras. Had this been known, it would have been of invaluable help in tracing the development of Buddhist thought in Ceylon.

Bhāṇakas

We are now left with one other important source of the Pāli Commentaries, namely, the traditions handed down by the 'Bhāṇakas' or the 'Reciters' of the various portions of the Canon. In the next chapter we shall deal with this source, tracing as far as possible the history from the inception of the Bhāṇaka system to the time of Buddhaghosa.

1 *See* Appendix II B

The Bhanakas

WHEN we consider the long ministry of the Buddha we are led to think that the discourses he delivered and the rules laid down by him for the guidance of his disciples must have been necessarily very extensive. As far as we have evidence, no attempt had been made during his life time to codify his teachings, though probably they were studied and remembered by his disciples in the form of 'collections' (*saṃhitā—Pāli *sahitā*). The word *sahitaṃ* in the Dhammapada verse *bahum pi ce sahitaṃ bhāsamāno* . . . . [1] very likely refers to such a collection. We may safely state that there were two such main collections : the Vinaya collection or the collection of rules and regulations for the guidance of monks and nuns and the Dhamma collection or that of the discourses. The division of the Dhamma into the Sutta and the Abhidhamma is evidently a later one.

Origin of the Bhāṇakas

Three months after the passing away of the Buddha, His disciples with Mahākassapa at their head are said to have assembled at Rājagaha where they recited, classified and arranged the teachings. In that council it was deemed advisable to entrust different sections of the Canon to different groups of disciples. The lack of suitable writing material and the consequent necessity of handing down the Texts by word of mouth from teacher to pupil made it expedient to adopt this division of labour. Different sections of the Canon were accordingly entrusted to groups of monks who were already noted for their proficiency in those sections, as is evident from the entrusting of the Vinaya to Upāli and his pupils.[2] The Dīgha, Majjhima, Samyutta and Aṅguttara Nikāyas were entrusted to Ānanda, the pupils of Sāriputta, Mahākassapa and Anuruddha respectively. Of these Nikāyas the Majjhima contains, in the Suttas such as the Anupada,[3] material which may be considered as the main source of the later systematized Abhidhamma. It is therefore significant that this Nikāya was entrusted to the pupils of Sāriputta noted for his knowledge of the Abhidhamma. About ten centuries later Yuan Chwang noticed that on auspicious days Sāriputta was honoured by the Ābhidhammikas.[4] The group of monks to whom these sections were entrusted and their pupils after them preserved the teachings of the Buddha by learning and reciting the same. Thus they came to be known as the Bhāṇakas or the 'Reciters' of the respective sections of the Canon.

Classification of the Bhāṇakas

In the Pāli Commentaries reference is made to the Bhāṇakas of the Dīgha, Majjhima, Samyutta and the Aṅguttara Nikāyas, the two Vibhaṅgas (*Ubhato Vibhaṅgā*), the Dhammapada and the Mahā-Ariyavaṃsa. One also often comes across the two terms Sarabhāṇaka[5] and Padabhāṇaka,[6]

1 Ch I v. 19
2 Sum Vil I 13
3 M. Sutta No. III
4 N. Dutt: Spread of Buddhism and Buddhist Schools pp 205—206
5 Att 73
6 Man I 39 II 249. *See* also DhA III 345, IV 18

but they have no connection with the Bhāṇakas that we are dealing with here. In no Commentary, as far as I am aware, is there any reference to the reciters of the Khuddakanikāya. But in the Milindapañha the word Khuddakabhāṇakā occurs in a list of the Bhāṇakas.[1] This occurrence is both interesting and strange. The Milindapañha, at least the main part of the book—and this passage is included in that section—is older than Buddhaghosa's Commentaries. And if Bhāṇakas of all the five Nikāyas existed in India at the time when the Milindapañha was compiled, how is one to account for the absence of any mention of the Khuddakabhāṇakas in Ceylon ? Did they not exist, or, if they did, were they not sufficiently prominent in the island ? Or is it that Buddhaghosa and the other commentators had no occasion to mention them ? The reference in the Milinda, however, gives us a definite clue as to the place of origin of the Bhāṇakas, namely, that they arose in India and not in Ceylon.

With regard to the three divisions of the Canon : the Sutta, the Vinaya and the Abhidhamma, we find that those who recited and handed them down were not known by the name Bhāṇakā but were designated Suttantikā, Vinayadharā and Ābhidhammikā respectively. Dhammadharā was another name for Suttantikā.[2] The Buddha himself was considered the first Ābhidhammika.[3] Those who studied and recited the Commentaries were called Aṭṭhakathikā.[4] Besides these there were the Tipiṭakā (those versed in the three Piṭakas) and the Catunikāyikā (those versed in the four Nikāyas). Again, there were those who studied all the three Piṭakas but specialized in one Nikāya : Dīghabhāṇaka Tipiṭaka Mahāsiva thera may be cited as an illustration.[5] It is necessary to note here that being a Bhāṇaka of a particular section of the Canon meant only that the person in question made a special study of that portion and did not in any way imply an ignorance or neglect of other sections of the Piṭakas.

There is also evidence for us to infer that in order to become a Bhāṇaka of a particular Nikāya it was not essential for one to learn the whole of that Nikāya. The Samantapāsādikā tells us that a bhikkhu who counts ten years from his *upasampadā* ordination and who is at the head of a circle of bhikkhus should know at least, in addition to certain portions of the Vinaya—

if he is a Majjhimabhāṇaka, the first fifty discourses (of the Majjhimanikāya) ;
if a Dīghabhāṇaka, the Mahāvagga ;[6]
if a Saṃyuttabhāṇaka, the first three *vaggas* or the Mahāvagga ;
if an Aṅguttarabhāṇaka, the first or the second half of the Nikāya or, failing to learn it, the *nipāta* (sections) up to the third—according to the Mahāpaccarī-aṭṭhakathā a bhikkhu learning only one *nipāta* should learn the fourth or the fifth ; and
if a Jātakabhāṇaka, the Jātaka book together with its Commentary—according to the Mahāpaccarī he should learn the Dhammapada, too, with its stories.

1 Mil. 342
2 Man II 189
3 Att 17
4 Pj I 151
5 Sum Vil II 543 III 883
6 The second *vagga* (chapter) including Suttas 14— 23 of the Dīghanikāya.

A bhikkhu who has learned these prescribed portions of the Vinaya and the Suttantas becomes a well-read and capable teacher.[1]

Provision also seems to have been made to enable a Bhāṇaka of one Nikāya to have as comprehensive a knowledge as possible without resorting to the study of other Nikāyas and their Commentaries. The preliminary detailed explanations often given in the same style and practically in the same words at the beginning of the Commentaries of each Nikāya would warrant this inference.

We shall now see what we can glean from the Pāli Commentaries regarding the special characteristics of the Bhāṇakas and the divergences, if there be any, in the views held by them.

Dīghabhāṇakas

As mentioned before, it is said that the study and the handing down of the Dīghanikāya was entrusted to Ānanda and his pupils. Whether the Dīghabhāṇakas of Ceylon were direct descendants of Ānanda in the lineage of teachers it is not possible to say. There was nothing to prevent a pupil of a Dīghabhāṇaka teacher becoming a Catunikāyika or a Tipiṭaka, and then one of his pupils studying the Majjhimanikāya under him and becoming a Majjhimabhāṇaka. The same may be said with regard to the reciters of the other Nikāyas.

There is a considerable number of references to Dīghabhāṇaka theras living in different parts of Ceylon. In Anurādhapura there lived several of them. The Sumaṅgalavilāsinī mentions that at Ambalaṭṭhikā which was to the west of the Lohapāsāda, the Dīghabhāṇaka theras started a recital of the Brahmajāla Sutta and that at the end of it the earth quaked.[2] According to this Commentary some Dīghabhāṇaka theras were reciting the Mahāsudassana Sutta at the same place when King Vasabha (127—171 A.D.) went there and, on listening to it, was greatly pleased.[3] The Apadānaṭṭhakathā describes an anecdote connected with a young Dīghabhāṇaka living in the Kalyāṇi vihāra.[4] The thera Dīghabhāṇaka Abhaya, too, lived at least for a time at Kalyāṇi.[5]

Mention is made several times of two Dīghabhāṇaka theras. One is the thera mentioned above and the other is Mahāsiva. In some places the former is called Dīghabhāṇaka Abhaya and in others Dīghabhāṇaka Mahā Abhaya. Whether both referred to the same person or not we are unable to say definitely. The same is true of the latter who is referred to both as Dīghabhāṇaka Mahāsiva and as Dīghabhāṇaka Tipiṭaka Mahāsiva. Buddhaghosa quotes the name of Abhaya as a thera noted for his memory[6] and again as one famed for his patience with those whose words were insulting.[7] In the Atthasālinī there is an interesting account of how Dīghabhāṇaka Mahā Abhaya converted a band of thieves who came to plunder the Cetiyapabbata vihāra.[8] In this and other accounts we have

1 Smp Sn II 34
2 Sum Vil I 131
3 Ibid. II 635
4 ApA 128
5 Pap Sn 869
6 Sum Vil II 530
7 Pap I 79
8 Att 399; Smp II 474

of this thera there is drawn for us a fairly vivid picture of his personality.[1] Concerning Mahāsiva thera, too, there are many references in the Commentaries, but these will be dealt with in a later chaper.

We shall next see in what respects the reciters of the Dīghanikāya differed from those of the other Nikāyas. Available material, however, is not sufficient for us to arrive at any definite conclusions.

The following points of difference in the views held by the Dīghabhāṇakas and the Majjhimabhāṇakas are recorded in the Commentaries :

Dīghabhāṇakas	*Majjhimabhāṇakas*
1. At the council held at Rājagaha, when the other 499 theras sat in their seats, Ānanda, who attained Arahantship in the early morning of that same day, went last to the Assembly Hall and took his seat. He 'shone like the fullmoon on a cloudless night, like a lotus touched into bloom by the rays of the sun ; his face was pure, cleansed, radiant and resplendent as though it were proclaiming his attainment of Arahantship' (*attano arahattappattiṃ ārocayamāno viya*).[2]	1. In order to make known that he had attained Arahantship Ānanda thera did not go with the other theras. After they had assembled, they saw Ānanda's seat vacant and inquired where he was. Then Ānanda dived into the earth and appeared in his seat. Some (*eke*) say that he went through the air and took his seat.[3]
2. Theras at the first council recited the Texts : Jātaka Mahā-Niddesa Cūla-Niddesa Paṭisambhidāmagga Suttanipāta Dhammapada Udāna Itivuttaka Vimāna-peta-vatthu Thera-theri-gāthā and calling them the Khuddakagantha, included the same in the Abhidhamma Piṭaka.[4]	2. The Majjhimabhāṇakas add to the list of the Dīghabhāṇakas the three Texts : Cariyāpiṭaka Apadāna and Buddhavaṃsa, and say that the theras at the first council called this collection the Khuddakagantha and included it in the Suttanta Piṭaka.[4]

3. (With regard to the degree of subtleness of the body when one is practising the *Ānāpānasati* meditation.)

1 For other references *see* Man II 249; VіI 36,266 SV 81 and also Appendix IA
2 Sum Vil I 10
3 Ibid I 11.
4 Sum Vil I 15

"It (*i.e.*, the body-complex at the time when the *Ānāpānasati* is practised) is subtle in the access to the First Jhāna, subtle in the First Jhāna, gross in the first Jhāna and in the access to the Second Jhāna, subtle in the Second Jhāna and in the access to the Third Jhāna, gross in the Third Jhāna and in the access to the Fourth Jhāna. In the Fourth Jhāna it is exceedingly subtle and attains to extinction. Such is the opinion held by the Reciters of the Dīgha and the Saṃyutta.[1]

"But the Majjhima Reciters desire that it should be more subtle at the access than at the Jhāna which is immediately below, that is, it is gross at the first Jhāna subtle at the access to the Second Jhāna..................."[1]

4. "And when the after-image has made its appearance (in the practice of the *Ānāpānasati* meditation) the monk should approach the teacher and inform him thus : 'To me, sir, such and such an image has appeared.'

The teacher should not say, 'It is the image', but he should say, 'Friend, it is so. Give repeated attention to it'. Should he say, 'It is not the image,' the monk might become discouraged and dejected. Therefore without saying either, he should exhort him to give attention. So say the Dīgha Reciters."[2]

But the Majjhima Reciters hold that the teacher should say, "Friend, it is the image. Attend to the subject repeatedly, good man."[2]

5. The light (*obhāso*) that appears at the moment when a Buddha is born, does not remain even as long as the time taken to drink one mouthful of gruel. It only remains for such interval of time as is occupied between ones awakening from sleep and seeing an object.[3]

5. The light remains for a period of time as long as that which is taken in snapping the fingers ; it disappears before one could finish saying "what's this !" on seeing a flash of lightning.[3]

Other differences are :

6. The Dīghabhāṇakas held the view that Prince Siddhattha, before he decided to leave the household life, saw *on the same day* the four signs (*cattāri nimittāni*) *viz.*, an old man, a diseased man, a corpse and an ascetic. Other Bhāṇakas maintained that he saw them *on four different occasions*, each at an interval of four months from the other.[4]

7. The term *gomuttavaṅko* was interpreted by the Dīghabhāṇakas as : 'he who, being in the first period of his life (*paṭhamavaye*), pursues the

1 Smp II 413, Vi I 275, P.P. II 316
2 Smp II 428; Vi I 286; P.P. II 328
3 Pap Sn 921
4 BuA 232; J I 59; ApA I 54

twenty-six improprieties (*anesanā*) and the six uncongenial spheres (*agocarā*).' Others explained it as 'one whose all three doors of action are impure.'[1]

8. Lastly, the Dīghabhāṇakas did not agree with the view of the commentators of the Abhidhamma Text Dhammasaṅgaṇī regarding the interpretation of *diṭṭhijjukamma* (rectitude of views) as being a basis of all meritorious deeds.[2]

Majjhimabhāṇakas

Only one Majjhimabhāṇaka thera is mentioned by name in the Commentaries, and that is Reva thera.[3] Probably he lived in Malaya, the mountainous district of central Ceylon ; but there is no means of ascertaining when he lived.

We have some information concerning the differences between the views held by the Majjhimabhāṇakas and those held by others. It has already been seen in what respects the former differed from the Dīghabhāṇakas. The Manorathapūraṇī mentions two incidents in the life story of the Buddha's disciple Bakkula, on which the Majjhimabhāṇakas held views different from those mentioned in the Sinhalese Aṅguttaranikāya-aṭṭhakathā.[4] According to the Visuddhimagga the Majjhimabhāṇakas differed from the Saṃyuttabhāṇakas with regard to the interpretation of the phrase "*eka dve santati vāra* (one or two intervals of continuity).[5] In the Satipaṭṭhānasutta-vaṇṇanā of the Papañcasūdanī, Buddhaghosa says that some theras held the view that the subduing of Kammāsapāda by the Bodhisatta took place during the latter's birth as Sutasoma, whereas "these theras" (*ime pana therā*) held that the event occurred during his birth as Jayaddisa. The Ṭīkā to the Papañcasūdanī explains "these" as the Majjhimabhāṇakas.[6] In the same Commentary is mentioned still another difference between the Bhāṇakas of the Majjhima and those of the other Nikāyas.[7]

Saṃyuttabhāṇakas

The Buddhavaṃsa Commentary records the reasons given by the Saṃyuttabhāṇakas as to why the Buddha Padumuttara was called by that name.[8] The Saṃyuttabhāṇaka thera, Cūlasiva by name, is mentioned as an example of those people who, on account of their practising of love (*mettā*) are unaffected even by poison.[9] This thera lived at the time of the Brāhmaṇatissa famine[10] and was one of the foremost (*pāmokkhā*) among the bhikkhus of his day.[11]

Aṅguttarabhāṇakas

There is no mention by name of an Aṅguttarabhāṇaka thera and the references to their views are meagre. Buddhaghosa, while dealing with the thirteen *dhutaṅga* practices in his Visuddhimagga, points out that the Aṅguttarabhāṇakas differed from the accepted tradition in certain details

1 Att 151
2 Ibid 159
3 Vi I 95
4 Man I 306, 309
5 Vi II 431 ; *see* also Att 420
6 Pap I 227
7 Pap Sn 893
8 BuA 159
9 Vi I 313 ; Man Sn 847
10 The date of the occurrence of this famine will be discussed in a later chapter.
11 SV 446

connected with four of them.[1] It is not safe to generalize and arrive at conclusions from a few facts, but when we read these passages in the Visuddhimagga we get the impression that the Aṅguttarabhāṇakas were perhaps not so strict as the others were about rigid religious practices. The possible correctness of this impression is supported by another passage in the Manorathapūraṇī. According to this Commentary the teachers who maintained the Aṅguttaranikāya (*Aṅguttara-mahānikāyaṃ valañjanaka ācariyā*) considered all the Vinaya rules other than the four *pārājikās* as lesser and minor (*khuddânukhuddaka*) rules.[2] This is clearly not in conformity with the views of the orthodox Theravāda school that considered strict adherence to all the Vinaya rules as a matter of prime importance.[3]

Jātakabhāṇakas

The Jātaka collection seems to have become very popular from quite an early date. There are, as we know, carvings depicting Jātaka stories in the sculpture of the third century B.C.[4] It must have been the love of the people for hearing and narrating stories that brought about this vogue.

The Papañcasūdanī mentions a Jātakabhāṇaka bhikkhu who lived in the time of the Buddha.[5] This evidence is from a fifth century book on an event that took place about ten centuries earlier. But considering the fact that Buddhaghosa compiled the Papañcasūdanī basing his material on very much older material and also that from a very early date the Jātakas were included in the nine-fold division of the teachings of the Buddha,[6] it is possible that the reciters of the Jātakas were one of the oldest groups of the Bhāṇakas.

In Ceylon, too, preaching the Jātakas became very popular. King Iḷanāga (93-102 A.D.) heard, while he was at Rohaṇa, the Kapi Jātaka,[7] from the Jātakabhāṇaka thera Mahāpaduma who dwelt in the Tulādhāra vihāra. The king, being greatly pleased, restored the Nāgamahāvihāra and gave it the extension of a hundred unbent bows in length, and he enlarged the thūpa even to what it has been (since then).[8]

The Manorathapūraṇī, too, gives us an account of a preacher of the Jātakas. A young bhikkhu residing at the Tissamahāvihāra in Mahāgāma heard that the Mahājātakabhāṇaka thera at Dīghavāpi was to preach the Great Vessantara Jātaka[9] which consisted of one thousand verses, and so great was his desire to hear the preaching that he went to Dīghavāpi travelling in one day the long distance of nine yojanas.[10] This account is interesting for more than one reason. The Vessantara Jātaka is said here to consist of one thousand verses and appears to have been entirely in verse, but the one that we have at present consists of both prose and verse, the

1 Vi 74—77
2 Man II 348
3 *See* Cullavagga XI sections 9 and 10.
4 Rhys Davids: Buddhist India p. 205
5 Pap II 305
6 M Vol. I p. 133; A II 7
7 There are two Jātakas by this name (Fausböll's Edn Vol. II pp. 268—270 and III pp. 355—358) and also two bearing the title Mahākapi Jātaka (III 369—375 and V 67—74). From the nature of the Jātaka which has a special appeal to a king I am inclined to think that the one mentioned here is III 369—375.
8 Mv 35 30—32
9 J VI 479—593
10 Man II 249

latter amounting to only 774 stanzas. The word Mahājātakabhāṇaka thera also is significant. It is not clear whether we are to take it as Mahā+Jātakabhāṇaka thera (the great thera, reciter of the Jātakas) or as Mahājātaka+bhāṇaka thera (the thera, reciter of the great Jātakas). Taking into account the nature of the Jātaka preached in this case, it is more probable that the word is to be taken as to signify a reciter of the 'great Jātakas'. If this interpretation is correct, then there were two divisions of the Jātakabhāṇakas: (1) the reciters of the ordinary Jātakas and (2) those of the Mahājātakas.

Still another episode connected with a Jātakabhāṇaka bhikkhu is recorded in the Sammohavinodanī.[1]

The Suttanipāta Commentary records that the Jātakabhāṇakas differed from others in regard to a detail in the story connected with the Caṇḍāla saint Mātaṅga. According to this Commentary the once conceited girl Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā, whose pride was now completely destroyed by Mātaṅga, carried in her arms the latter to his village. The Jātakabhāṇakas said that he was carried on her back.[2]

As noted before, Buddhaghosa tells us in the Samantapāsādikā that, according to the Mahāpaccarī Commentary, a Jātakabhāṇaka bhikkhu was expected to learn the Dhammapada with its stories in addition to the Jātaka stories.[3] It was probably the similarity of the Jātaka stories to the stories round the Dhammapada verses that brought about this connection.

Dhammapadabhāṇakas

There is very little information to be had about the reciters of the Dhammapada. One of them, a thera called Mahātissa, is mentioned in the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā. He lived in the time of King Duṭṭhagāmiṇī.[4]

The first words uttered by the Buddha were considered by some to be the verses '*yadā have pātubhavanti dhammā* . . . . .', etc.[5] The Dhammapadabhāṇakas considered his first words to be the verses '*anekajāti saṃsāraṃ* . . . . .'[6] The Khuddakapātha Commentary reconciles the two views by asserting that the latter verses were formulated mentally but were not uttered by the Buddha.[7]

Ubhatovibhaṅgabhāṇakas

There is only one reference to an Ubhatovibhaṅgabhāṇaka thera, a reciter of the two Vibhaṅgas, namely, Mahātissa of Puṇṇavālika. He is quoted in the Samantapāsādikā as an authority on a Vinaya problem. Mahātissa bases his opinion on what he had heard from earlier 'great theras.'[8]

Similiarly, only once is reference made, as far as I am aware, to a reciter of the Mahā-Ariyavaṃsa.[9] The term Mahācattālīsakabhāṇaka, too, occurs

1 SV 484
2 Pj II 186 *See* also J IV 376
3 Smp Sn II 34
4 DhA IV 51
5 Att 17
6 Ibid. 18. These are the verses 153, 154 in the Dhammapada. *See* also DhA III 127.
7 Pj I 13. The Mahāvastu gives still another group of verses as the first words of the Buddha. For a valuable discussion on these different versions, *see* E.J. Thomas: Life of Buddha as Legend and History pp 74 foll.
8 Smp III 644
9 SASn III 151

once in the Sammohavinodani.[1] It denotes a reciter not of any separate Text but of the Mahācattārīsaka Sutta in the Majjhimanikāya.[2]

Bhāṇakas at the time of the compilation of the Commentaries

The original purpose for which the Bhāṇaka system was established was a very useful one. But for this division of labour, it would have been impossible to hand down orally the teachings of the Buddha from the time of his *parinibbāna* up to the time when the Piṭakas were committed to writing at Ālokavihāra in Ceylon about four centuries later. Even after this event the Bhāṇaka system was exceedingly useful as writing material was not easily available for the bhikkhus of Ceylon to dispense with the method of oral transmission.

However, as time went on, this system tended to create factions among the bhikkhus. Thus Buddhaghosa observes that in his day there were bhikkhus who had worldly affection (*gehasita pema*) towards the Doctrine and were in the habit of regarding : 'this is our Dīghanikāya and this is our Majjhimanikāya.'[3]

The Samantapāsādikā speaks of the proper and correct attitude to be adopted by the bhikkhus when a layman came to invite them for meals and ask for a certain number of mahātheras, sāmaṇeras, Majjhimabhāṇakas or monks belonging to some other group.[4] The passage referred to here leads us to draw the inference that the distinction among the Bhāṇakas of the various Nikāyas was sufficiently pronounced for the laity to attach different values to them.

The Samantapāsādikā records again that a bhikkhu who comes to get a case settled should not be questioned as to his caste : whether he is a khattiya or a brāhmana, etc., or as to his Āgama : whether he is a Dighabhāṇaka or a Majjhimabhāṇaka, etc.[5] This, too, indicates that the Bhāṇakas of a particular Āgama (or Nikāya) were perhaps of a different standing from the Bhāṇakas of another Āgama.

In the Suttavibhaṅga-vaṇṇanā Buddhaghosa says that a bhikkhu should not appropriate for himself any article which is given to the brotherhood as a whole, as it is not possible to reach all the bhikkhus in order to make them relinquish the ownership of that article, but that this may be done in the case of anything given to a single bhikkhu or to a group such as the Dīghabāṇakas.[6] From this remark it appears that the number of the Bhāṇakas at the time in question was comparatively small, so limited in number that it was possible to reach them all if one wished to obtain their consent on any matter.

The Bhāṇaka system does not exist in Ceylon today, and it is not possible to say when it came to an end ; nor is there now a way of ascertaining definitely in what form of record the views of the Bhāṇakas were available to Buddhaghosa.

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1 SV 320
2 M. Sutta No. 117
3 Pap II 9. It may also be that this state of affairs prevailed when the Sinhalese Commentaries were compiled and that Buddhaghosa is here merely repeating what was found in the original documents.
4 Smp Sn II 329
5 Ibid. 394
6 Smp II 339

CHAPTER FOUR

The Nature of the Contents of the Pali Commentaries

The Aṭṭhakathās, as we know, are exegetical treatises on the Texts of the Pāli Canon. Their main object is, therefore, to explain difficult words and abstruse points of doctrine that occur in the Texts and also to give additional explanatory information wherever it was deemed necessary. We need not doubt the sincerity of those who were responsible for these exegetical notes, but, as the Commentaries grew in the course of several centuries to be what we find today, extraneous matter inevitably crept into the beliefs that were held orthodox. It is this extraneous matter that is of interest to us in our present attempt to reconstruct the history of Buddhism in early Ceylon, as it enables us to see how far the popular doctrines of the Aṭṭhakathā period differed from those embodied in the Pāli Canon.

We may divide our material roughly into two groups :—

I. Differences between the Aṭṭhakathās and the Canon, and
II. Differences between one Aṭṭhakathā and another.

I

The first group may be subdivided into three classes as follows :—

1. A Commentary appearing to differ from a Textual statement,
2. A Commentary enlarging on a point raised in the Text, and
3. A Commentary adding new facts to what is given in the Text.

Class 1

The Pāli Jātakaṭṭhakathā mentions several places where the Sinhalese version differed from the Jātaka Text. Sometimes the difference is only in a single word. In the Godha Jātaka occurs the stanza :

Na pāpajanasaṃsevī accantasukham edhati
Godhākulaṃ kakaṇto va kaliṃ *pāpeti attānaṃ*

The Canonical Text here, we are told had *phalaṃ* instead of *kaliṃ* and the commentator rejects the former word on the ground that it is irrelevant. [1] Sometimes a stanza in the Aṭṭhakathā does not have all the words found in the corresponding stanza in the Text, or the words are found in different form.[2]

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1 J. I 488. For other instances where the Atthakathā version is preferred to the Text, *See* Ibid. II 175, 294.

2 Ibid. II 241, 299, IV 236, V 95, 273, 276, VI 36

The Sammohavinodanī mentions an example where the Commentarial explanation is contradictory to the Text.[1] A similar example is also found in the Paṭisambhidāmagga-Aṭṭhakathā.[2] An attempt to reconcile another contradiction, which the Pāli commentator himself observes, is made in the Udāna-aṭṭhakathā.[3] The commentator of the Buddhavaṃsa, too, points out an instance of such a difference between the Buddhavaṃsa and the Khandhaka as well as the Aṭṭhakathā.[4]

This brings us to the Buddhavaṃsa and its Commentary which reveal a considerable number of differences one from the other[5]. Some stanzas given in the Text do not occur in the Commentary, and *vice versa*. The last two chapters of the Text, namely, the Buddhapakiṇṇaka-khaṇḍa and the Dhātubhājaniyakathā[6] are also not commented on in the Aṭṭhakathā. These differences are so great that we may rightly infer that the Text which the

1 SV 27, 28
2 PsmA 75
3 UdA 171
4 BuA 44.
5 Bu (P. T. S. Edn.)
p. 18 vv. 208—212, 215, 220
p. 19. v. 16
p. 20. v. 17 line 1. vv. 26—29, 32
p. 22. vv. 19—22, 25
p. 23. v.32
p. 26. vv. 17—20, 23. 29
p. 28. vv. 17—20, 23, 30
p. 30. vv. 18—21, 24, 29
p. 32. vv. 17—20, 23, 29
p. 34. vv. 19—22, 25, 33
p. 36. vv. 20—23, 26, 31
p. 38. vv. 19—22, 25, 31
p. 39. v. 12
p. 40. vv. 21—24, 30
p. 41. v. 36
p. 42. vv. 16—19, 22, 27
p. 44. v. 26
p. 45. vv. 14—17, 20, 25
p. 47. vv. 14 —17
p. 48. vv. 20, 24
p. 49. vv. 17—20, 23
p. 50. v. 28
p. 53. vv. 24—28, 30
p. 54. v. 36
p. 55. vv. 16—19, 22, 28
p. 57. vv. 19—22, 25, 30
p. 58. vv. 16—19, 22, 27
p. 61. vv. 18—21, 24, 29
p. 64. vv. 35—38, 41, 52
p. 65. vv. 8 —12
These stanzas occur in the Text but not in the Aṭṭhakathā.
Stanzas that occur in the Aṭṭhakathā but not in the Text:
(1) BuA p. 105, three stanzas.
(2) „ p. 115, first two stanzas (instead of Bu p. 21. v. 38)
(3) „ p. 135, last two stanzas
(4) „ p, 136, first stanza
(5) „ p. 140, second line of the verse *Nakulā ca*...
(6) Also stanzas on pp. 205, 209, 213, 217 (2nd stanza). Along with each of these there seems to have been other stanzas also, as it is evident from the phrase "*sesa gāthāsu sabbattha pākaṭam eva*—all the meanings (of words) in the remaining stanzas are clear."
6 Bu pp 66—69

commentator had before him was different from the one we have today, and that the original Text received in Ceylon many additional verses after the Pāli Commentary was written.[1] Further, the Nidānakathā of the Jātakaṭṭhakathā quotes in full the first two chapters of the Buddhavaṃsa and the verses there agree with those in the Buddhavaṃsa Commentary and not with those in the Text, the differences being precisely the same as pointed out before.[2] This fact, too, corroborates our inference as to the later additions made to the Buddhavaṃsa.

Class 2

Instances of amplifications made in the Commentaries on the original Texts are more numerous. As an illustration we may make here a comparison of some parts of the Acchariyabbhutadhamma Sutta of the Majjhimanikāya[3] with the Commentary on this Sutta.

Text	*Commentary*
(*A*) "When the Bodhisatta has entered his mother, four gods approach her to protect the four quarters (saying), 'Let nought human or anything else hurt the Bodhisatta or the Bodhisatta's mother'."[4]	(*a*) The four gods are the Four Great Kings. Taking four from each of the ten thousand world-systems they number forty thousand. Of them the four Great Kings of this world-system stood with swords in hand in the bedroom (of the Bodhisatta's mother), others stood at the door of the room, and so forth, up to the very end of the universe, all keeping guard to drive away hostile demons. They kept guard in this manner not because there was any danger to the life of the Bodhisatta, for none howsoever great could kill him, but lest his mother should perchance be frightened at the sight of non-human beings ugly to look at or at hearing the cry of a bird striking terror in the hearts of men. Another reason for keeping guard was that they were urged to do so by the might of the Bodhisatta's virtue. The gods were visible to the Bodhisatta's mother at all times excepting when she was bathing, dressing, taking meals or performing the functions of nature; but as a result of the power of her own virtue as also her son's, she felt no terror in their presence. She considered them merely as the warders of the household.[5]

1 This question will be dealt with later in the discussion on '*sambahulavāra*'
2 Compare J I p. 29, v. 216—p. 30 v. 223 with Bu p. 17 v. 207—p. 18 v. 220.
3 M III pp. 118—124
4 E. J. Thomas: Life of Buddha as Legend and History p. 30.
5 Pap Sn 921, 922.

(*B*) " When the Bodhisatta has entered his mother, there arises in the Bodhisatta's mother no thought of men connected with the senses, and the Bodhisatta's mother is not to be overcome by any man of passionate heart."[1]

(*b*) There arises in her no thought connected with the senses with regard to the Bodhisatta's father or any other man. It so happens not because she has destroyed all defilements but because of her respect towards the Bodhisatta. The likeness of her even a skilled artist cannot paint. It cannot be said that a man who sees her beauty will not feel an attachment to her. But if an impassioned man were to feel inclined to approach her, his feet would not carry him, for they would be tied with a celestial chain. Therefore it is said that she is not to be overcome by any man of passionate heart.[2]

(*C*) " As soon as born the Bodhisatta firmly standing with even feet goes towards the north with seven long steps, a white parasol being held over him (by the gods). He surveys all the quarters, and in a lordly voice says, ' I am the chief in the world, I am the best in the world, I am the first in the world. This is my last birth. There is now no existence again '."[3]

(*c*) In the Text it appears as if (the Bodhisatta walked) immediately after his birth. But it should not be viewed so. As soon as he was born the Brahmāa received him first in a golden net. From their hands the Four Great Kings received him in a soft antelope skin that was held to be auspicious. Finally from their hands men took him in a delicate cloth. After that he stood on the ground.

The ' white parasol ' (mentioned in this passage) is a ' white parasol of the gods '. Along with it were the five emblems of royalty also, though in the Text the parasol alone is mentioned as in the description of a king's journey. In that assembly only the parasol, the sword and other emblems were visible, but not those who held them . . . .

The mention of the words, ' all the quarters, etc.' seems to suggest that the Bodhisatta looked at all the quarters at the end of his walking the seven steps. But it should not be viewed in this manner.

The Bodhisatta, after getting down from the hands of the men (who received him), looked towards the

1 E. J. Thomas, Op cit. p. 30.
2 Pap Sn 922.
3 E. J. Thomas, Op cit, p. 31

east. Then numberless systems of worlds became one plane and the devas and men residing in them worshipped him with incense, flowers and the like, saying : ' Great Being, here there is none to equal thee ; why speak of a superior ! ' In this way the Bodhisatta looked at the ten directions, namely, the four chief directions, the four intermediary directions, and above and below. Having seen his equal in none of them, he walked seven steps towards the north.[1]

It is easy to see in these instances how far the Commentary has deviated from the Text.

Again, according to the Pabbajjā Sutta in the Suttanipāta, king Bimbisāra saw the Bodhisatta who, having left the householder's life and become an ascetic, was going about with a begging bowl in his hand in the streets of Rājagaha. The king, noticing his serene look and gait, sent men to follow him with the words : ' May the royal messengers run (to find out) where the bhikkhu goes ' (*rājadūtā vidhāvantu kuhiṃ bhikkhu gamissati*).[2] The Suttanipāta Commentary explains the words very clearly without adding any extraneous matter to it,[3] but the Jātakaṭṭhakathā, referring to the same incident, puts into the mouth of Bimbisāra strange details as to how the messengers should find out who he was. The king is reported to have said : ' Go and find out who he is. If he is a demon (*amanussa*) he will vanish when he goes outside the town ; if a deity he will travel through space, if a *nāga* he will dive into the earth, if he is a man he will partake of the food that he has received.'[4]

The Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, too, commenting on the stanza

Yathā pi rahado gambhīro vippasanno anāvilo
Evaṃ dhammāni sutvāna vippasīdanti paṇḍitā

(Just like a lake deep, clear, serene,
when as they things in dharma hear,
wise men become serene, composed).[5]

explains *rahado* (lake) as that *ocean* which is undisturbed by the descent of the four-fold army. ' *Rahado*,' proceeds the Commentary, ' is the vast blue ocean, eighty-four thousand yojanas deep. Up to a height of forty thousand yojanas from the bottom its water is disturbed by fish. An equal depth from the surface it is disturbed by wind. The water in the middle layer having a thickness of four thousand yojanas remains calm. This is what is called a deep *rahada* '.[6]

1 Pap Sn 925. a, b, and c are free and slightly condensed translations of the passages in the Papañcasūdanī.
2 Suttanipāta p. 72 v. 411
3 Pj II (2) 383
4 J. I. 66
5 Mrs. Rhys Davids: The Minor Anthologies of the Pāli Canon, p. 31
6 DhA II 152, 153

Here it would certainly have been the nobler service, had the Aṭṭhakathā not troubled to 'explain' the simple beauty of the lines. Numerous examples of a similar character, though, perhaps, not very many where the 'explanations' are developed to such proportions as here, may be cited.[1] But the few that we have already quoted above are sufficient to show the enlargements made in the Commentaries on the original Texts.

Sometimes we find also a Commentary giving a detailed explanatory statement and, in justification of the same, making some such remark as: 'This, too, was said by the Blessed One, but it has not been included in the Text' (*idaṃ pi kira Bhagavatā vuttam eva, Pāliyaṃ pana na ārūḷhaṃ*);[2] 'all this—what is included in the text as well as what is not included—the Blessed One uttered' (*idaṃ Pāliyaṃ ārūḷhañ ca anārūḷhañ ca sabbaṃ Bhagavā avoca*,[3] or the 'Text has come in brief' (*Pāli pana saṅkhepena āgatā.*)[4]

Class 3

This brings us to the consideration of the inclusion in the Commentaries of matter which takes the form not merely of enlarging on what is contained in the Texts but of definite additions to them. Not seldom do we come across the modes of exposition known as the *Sambahulavāra* (manifold section) and the *Pālimuttakanaya* (method of issuing or drawing out from the Text).

The Buddhavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā makes evident the nature of the former. According to this Commentary the description in the Buddhavaṃsa of each Buddha consists of twenty sections such as the declaration of the cycle of time (*kappa*) in which a particular Buddha was born, his name and so forth. But, adds the Commentary, here the *Sambahulavāra*, too, should be inserted, which consists of the ten sections, viz., the declaration of

1. the period which each Buddha spent as a householder,
2. the three palaces,
3. the dancing women (who were of his retinue).
4. the chief queen,
5. the son,
6. the mode of conveyance (used by him when leaving home),
7. the setting forth (into the homeless life),
8. the period of exertion,
9. the (chief) attendants, and
10. the vihāra.

The commentator further declares that he would briefly deal with these ten also in the course of his work.[5]

Now these are precisely the same items as are found included in our Buddhavaṃsa but left uncommented in the Aṭṭhakathā.[6] The inference to be drawn is clear. Before the Pāli Commentary was written the verses that described these items were not included in the Text. They formed a part of each chapter of the Sinhalese Buddhavaṃsa Commentary. The verses were, however, modelled on the style of the Text, and this close

1 *See e.g.*, Pap Sn 767; SA II 156; Man II 239; Sum Vil II 445, 575, 679; SA Sn III 193.
2 Sum Vil I 238; SA I 201
3 Sum Vil II 636
4 SV 124, *see* also Ibid. 209
5 BuA 2, 3, 105
6 *See* E. J. Thomas: Life of Buddha as Legend and History, p. 49 note I.

resemblance in style as well as in subject matter naturally induced the later editors to insert these verses in their Text.

The Sumaṅgalavilāsinī and the Papañcasūdanī, too, give instances of the use of *sambahulavāra*[1] by way of justifying the inclusion of additional matter in connection with the early life of the Buddha.[2] It is not possible to say what the origin of these accounts was, though there is little doubt that the accounts were handed down by tradition from a time much earlier than the writing of the Commentaries.

Though not appearing under the name *sambahulavāra*, there are numerous other instances where additional matter is given in the Aṭṭhakathās. Several of the accounts given in the Buddhavaṃsa Commentary belong to this category; *e.g.*, the subduing of the demon Nārada by the Buddha Dīpaṅkara,[3] the Buddha Sumaṅgala giving, while he was yet a Bodhisatta, his two children as alms to a *yakkha*[4] and the manner in which he burned himself as a torch in front of the cetiya of a previous Buddha.[5] Not a single of these episodes is mentioned in the Text. The same Commentary gives the names of three Buddhas prior to Buddha Dīpaṅkara,[6] and here, too, the Text is silent on them.

The Manorathapūraṇī narrates an episode connected with the life of Guttila, the musician. He sent a thousand pieces of money to a certain woman, but she refused it slightingly. Enraged at this, Guttila went one evening to the door of this woman and began to sing in accompaniment to his musical instrument. Hearing his singing she was so enchanted that with the intention of approaching him she stepped out of the open window thinking that it was the door. The result was that she fell down and died.[7] An account of Guttila's life and activities is given in the Jātakaṭṭakathā, but this episode does not occur in it.[8] Nor am I aware of any other place where this is mentioned.

The Visuddhimagga, too, in its exposition of the Aggregates describes a number of *rūpas* (material qualities) and then says: 'These are the material qualities that are mentioned in the Text. But in the Commentary other material qualities are brought together, to wit: the material quality of strength, of origin, of production of ill-health and, in the opinion of some, of torpor'.[9] Here the distinction is between the Text and the Commentary. Sometimes these two modes of exposition are called the *Sāsana-naya* or *Desanā-naya* (method of the Teaching) and the *Aṭṭhakathā-naya* respectively.[10] When referring to the Abhidhamma Texts the word *Pakaraṇa-naya* is also used in place of *Desanā-naya*.[11]

The detailed description of the five *antaradhānas* (disappearances) given in the Manorathapūraṇī is also a clear example of such later additions.

1 Sum Vil II 440; Pap Sn 926
2 In the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī the account given is of the life of Buddha Vipassi, whereas in the Papañcasūdanī the same account refers to that of Buddha Gotama.
3 BuA 101
4 Ibid. 116
5 Ibid. 117
6 Ibid. 106
7 Man I 28
8 J II 248 foll.
9 Vi II 450, P. P. II 523; *See* also Vi II 433, Pap I 245
10 Pap I 38; Att 422, 427
11 SV 215; Sum Vil III 754
12 Man I 87 foll.

The other mode of addition, namely, the *Pāli-muttaka-naya*, is not so independent of the Canonical Texts as is the *sambahulavāra*. Here the addition must receive the sanction of the Canon or at least must be such that it can be deduced directly or indirectly from the same. It occurs most frequently in the Samantapāsādikā. Many rules of conduct of the bhikkhu, not laid down in the Vinaya, have been formulated on this line.[1] The Commentary on the Puggalapaññatti gives us an illustration of the same development in the Abhidhamma.[2]

We find a still further development of this in the *Aṭṭhakathāmuttaka-ācariyanaya* or the mode of exposition of the teachers as deduced from the Commentaries. The last named Commentary provides us with illustrations of this *naya* also.[3]

There is yet another mode of exposition, namely, the *Sadda-naya* or the philological method.[4] This is restricted to the exposition of the meanings of words.

II

Finally, we come to the consideration of some of the differences found between one Aṭṭhakathā and another. These differences are on quite a variety of topics, and therefore it is not possible to arrange them in any definite order. Nor is it possible, within the scope of this work, to deal with all of them. Most of these differences, no doubt, existed as such in the original Sinhalese and Dravidian Commentaries. The authors themselves, of the Pāli Commentaries, have pointed out some of them.[5] For others we have to depend on a comparison of the contents of their works. The following are a few of these differences :

(1) Shortly after the birth of Prince Siddhattha, the ascetic Kāladevala, desiring his nephew Nālaka to renounce the home-life and await Siddhattha's attainment of Buddhahood, went to his sister's house and asked her where Nālaka was. She replied : 'Sir, he is *in the house*' (*gehe ayyā ti*).[6] This is the version of the Jātakaṭṭhakathā. The Paramatthajotikā referring to the same incident says that her reply was : 'Sir, he is playing *outside*' (*bahi bhante kīḷati*).[7]

(2) According to the Buddhavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā the relatives of king Suddhodana refused at first to give their daughters in marriage to Prince Siddhattha, for, they said that the latter was not versed in any art and was therefore incapable of supporting a wife. By way of reply to this charge, Siddhattha exhibited in public his skill in all the arts necessary to be known by a prince, whereupon the relatives readily agreed to the original proposal of Suddhodana.[8] The Jātakaṭṭhakathā has a different version of the account. It says that some time after the marriage of the prince, a talk arose among his relatives : 'Siddhattha is devoting himself to mere enjoyment ; and he is unskilled in any art. What will he do in the event of a war ?' Suddhodana

1 *See e.g.*, Smp II 290—294, 476, III 713 Smp Sn II 13, 69.
2 J. P. T. S. 1914 p. 171
3 Ibid. pp. 173, 174
4 Man I 113; Pap Sn 566; *see* also the definition of the word Sāvatthi Pj I 110.
5 *See e.g.*, UdA 101. Some of these differences we have already discussed when dealing with the Sources of the Pāli Commentaries.
6 J I 55
7 Pj II (2) 489
8 BuA 230, 231

heard this talk and informed the prince of it. It was then that the latter exhibited his skill and removed the doubts of his kinsmen.[1]

(3) Most of the Commentaries agree that before leaving home for the homeless life, Prince Siddhattha saw four signs, namely, an old man, a sick man, a corpse and an ascetic.[2] The Buddhavaṃsa Aṭṭhakathā, however, describes only three and leaves out the seeing of the corpse.[3]

(4) In the account of the young man Maṭṭakuṇḍalī, whose death was caused by the miserliness of his father, it is said that a short while before Maṭṭakuṇḍalī passed away he was removed outside and laid on the terrace of the house. According to the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā the reason for doing so was his father's fear that if the lad died inside the house, the people who attended the funeral would see his wealth.[4] The Vimānavatthu-aṭṭhakathā says that the father acted thus in order to save himself the trouble of removing the corpse from the inside of the house.[5]

(5) The Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā defines the word *gopo* as a cowherd looking after others' cows and who is entitled only to the day's wages.[6] The Paramatthajotikā gives quite the opposite definition, according to which *gopo* denotes a cow-owner looking after his own herd.[7]

The above are more or less typical examples of differences found in the Commentaries. These differences are, as we see, with regard to non-essential details and they hardly affect the fundamental teachings of the Canon.

What we have discussed in the present chapter and in the three preceding ones may be summarized thus :

When Buddhaghosa came to Ceylon in the early part of the fifth century A.D., there was in Ceylon a vast collection of Commentarial literature preserved for the most part in the Sinhalese language. These Commentaries were the result of a gradual growth during several centuries, and from internal evidence it appears that they ceased to grow by about the middle of the first century A.D.

The Mahā-aṭṭhakathā was the most useful among them. Besides pure exegetical matter there was embodied in it and in other Commentaries also a large number of episodes dealing with incidents that took place or were alleged to have taken place in Ceylon. Many of these are preserved for us in the Pāli Commentaries, and they throw invaluable light on Buddhist life in Ceylon.

The arrangement of these episodes in a chronological order is, at least to a small extent, made possible by the existence of the two Ceylon Chronicles, the Dīpavaṃsa and the Mahāvaṃsa.

1 J. I 58
2 Ibid. I 59
3 BuA 231, 232
4 DhA I 26
5 VvA 322
6 DhA I 157
7 Pj II 28

The Pāli Commentaries as well as their Sinhalese sources show a certain development on or a going away from the contents of the Canonical Texts. The views attributed to the Porāṇas and the Bhāṇakas are specially interesting and useful in tracing this development which indicates to us the changes that the faith underwent in Ceylon. The changes, however, were restricted to details and did not affect much the fundamental teachings of the Canon.

Having made this brief survey of the material at our disposal, namely, the Pāli Commentaries, we are now in a better position to enter into a more detailed study of the state of Buddhism in early Ceylon.

PART II

CHAPTER I

Before the Advent of Mahinda

THE Ceylon Chronicles, Mahāvaṃsa and Dīpavaṃsa, deal with the history of Ceylon from the arrival of Vijaya and his followers in the fifth century B.C. This incident took place, according to the Mahāvaṃsa,[1] "on the day that the the Tathāgata lay down between the two twin-like sāla-trees to pass into nibbāna."[2] The history before the time of king Devānampiyatissa (247—207 B.C.) is so much intertwined in myth and legend that it is not easy to sift the facts from their legendary embellishments.

During the reign of Devānampiyatissa occurred the advent of the famous Buddhist missionary Mahinda, the son of the Emperor Asoka of India. This advent opens up a new era and the history of the island after this event is much more reliable than before it; but, as we can see from the evidence before us, it is more or less the history of the Buddhist saṅgha in Ceylon, especially that of the Theravāda sect residing in the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura.

The Chronicles as well as the Samantapāsādikā try to show that the conversion of Ceylon took place after the arrival of Mahinda and that there were no Buddhists in the island before that date. A careful survey, however, of the contents of these same books may make us arrive at a different conclusion. But it need not be doubted that Buddhism was officially introduced to Ceylon during the reign of Devānampiyatissa. Before investigating the existence of Buddhism prior to the advent of Mahinda it would not be out of place here to give a general idea of the pre-Buddhist religious beliefs in Ceylon.[3]

As far as we can gather from the incidental references in the Chronicles and, to a certain extent, in the Samantapāsādikā, the religions practised by the inhabitants were mainly Brāhmaṇism—if we may use this inclusive though somewhat inaccurate term—, worship of Yaksas and tree-deities, Jainism and a few other cults. It is, however, likely that the new colonists could not devote themselves much to religious pursuits as their time must have been fully occupied in making habitable and improving their newly acquired territory and also probably in defending themselves against the attacks of the aboriginal Yakkha and Nāga tribes.

Brāhmaṇism

From the very beginning, since the arrival of Vijaya and his followers in about the year 483 B.C., the brāhmaṇs enjoyed a prominent status in Ceylon. The immigrants to the island from north India, where the brāhmaṇa, no doubt, was an important and respected person, continued to show the same regard for him even in their new home. One may perhaps be

1 Mv. 6. 47

2 The Dīpavamsa (9. 21) states that it was at the time of the passing away (*parinibbāna-samaya*) and Smp (I 72) takes it to have happened in the same year.

3 S. Paranavitāna has dealt with this subject in detail in a paper read before a General Meeting of the R. A. S. (Ceylon Branch) on 2nd Nov. 1929.

justified in supposing that the brāhmaṇas lost much of that power after the Sinhalese kings embraced Buddhism. Even in later times we do hear now and then of powerful brāhmaṇas, strong enough at times to raise a rebellion against the ruling monarch. But those will be dealt with in their appropriate places.

There were brāhmaṇas who came along with Vijaya to Ceylon. Upatissa was one of them. He founded the village Upatissagāma which was for some time the capital of Ceylon. The same brāhmaṇa held the post of chaplain (*purohita*) to king Vijaya.[1] Paṇḍukābhaya as a young prince received his education under the brāhmaṇa named Paṇḍula. The son of the latter became in due course the chaplain to Paṇḍukābhaya (394—307 B.C.).[2] When Devānampiyatissa sent presents to Asoka, the prince Ariṭṭha was accompanied by the king's chaplain who was a brāhmaṇa.[3] Several other references, too, of a like nature can be easily found. The presence of these brāhmaṇas naturally implies the existence of their religious beliefs in Ceylon at that time.

The Worship of Yakṣas

King Paṇḍukābhaya built a temple for the Yakkha Cittarāja.[4] Paranavitāna is of opinion that Cittarāja was a water spirit.[5] Further, he shows that a Yakṣa named Cittarāja was the object of a popular cult in ancient India as is seen from the Kurudhamma Jātaka.[6] Other Yaksas worshipped in Ceylon were Kālavela, Maheja, Vaisravaṇa, Jutindhara, Vibhīsana, Kalasodara, and the Yakṣiṇīs Vaḍavāmukhī and Pacchimarājinī. 'The conditions, in pre-Buddhist Ceylon, of the *Yakṣa* cults appear to have been exactly similar to those in North India in the time of the Buddha ; and, in spite of the adoption of Buddhism as the national religion, the earlier Yakṣa worship flourished side by side among the masses and has persisted down to modern times.[7]

Tree-deities

Paṇḍukābhaya fixed a banyan tree near the Western Gate of Anurādhapura as the abode of Vaisravaṇa, and a palmyra palm as that of Vyādhadeva.[8] Here we have two instances of the worship of tree deities in pre-Buddhist Ceylon.

Patron Deities

The Vyādha-deva, mentioned above was the patron deity of the hunters. Another such deity was Kammāra-deva or the god of the blacksmiths. In addition to these deities of particular trades there was also a guardian deity of the whole city of Anurādhapura.[9]

Jainism

Paṇḍukābhaya is said to have built dwelling places for the Nigaṇṭhas (*i.e.*, Jains) named Jotiya and Kumbhaṇḍa. Another Nigaṇṭha called

1 MV 7. 44
2 Ibid. 10. 20 foll.
3 Ibid. 11, 20
4 Mv 10, 88
5 J. R. A. S. (C.B.) 1929 pp. 302 foll.
6 J II pp. 365—381
7 J. R. A. S. (C.B.) 1929 p. 317.
8 Mv 10. 89
9 J. R. A. S. (C.B.) 1929 p. 319

Giri lived in the locality where Jotiya was.[1] The monastery of Giri was demolished by king Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya (29—17 B.C.) and in its place was built the Abhayagirivihāra,[2] which in subsequent times, played an important part in the history of Buddhism in Ceylon. When these Jains came to Ceylon it is not possible to say. But we know that ever since the arrival of Vijaya, there was a constant flow of immigrants to Ceylon from India, especially from the northern part of that sub-continent. From north-western India travelling by sea to Ceylon was not a difficult task. There is no reason to suppose that Jains, too, did not come along with the other immigrants. But no conversion to any appreciable extent took place in Ceylon, perhaps, because Jainism, unlike Buddhism, was not a missionary religion. We hear practically no more of them in the Ceylon Chronicles, except by way of an incidental remark in the Mahāvaṃsa that in the eighteenth year of king Kassapa (478—496 A.D.) his brother Moggallāna who had fled to India came hither at the information of the Nigaṇṭhas with twelve distinguished friends from Jambudīpa and collected troops at the Kuṭhārivihāra in the Ambaṭṭhakola district.[3] Here, again, it is difficult to say whether these Jains were inhabitants of Ceylon or of India, though from the nature of the information, it is more likely that they were Ceylonese.

Paribbājakas, Ājīvakas, etc.

The Paribbājakas, a class of wandering teachers or sophists,[4] and Ājīvakas the followers of Makkhalī Gosāla, too, were known in early Ceylon. Paṇḍukābhaya built a monastery for the Paribbājakas and another for the Ājīvakas.[5]

Further, we are told that Bhaddakaccānā and her attendants came to Ceylon disguised as nuns (*pabbajitā*),[6] and that in the time of Paṇḍukābhaya there were many Pāsāṇḍakas and ascetics (*samaṇā*).[7] To what sects these words *pabbajitā* and *samaṇā* referred we are unable to say, as these words can be applied to any sect of non-brāhmaṇical ascetics, including the Buddhist monkhood. Nor do we know what religious beliefs were held by the five hundred pagan families (*micchādiṭṭhika-kulā*) settled to the west of Anurādhapura by Paṇḍukābhaya.[8]

Let us now see what evidence we have for the existence of Buddhism in pre-Mahindian Ceylon.

Buddha's visits to Ceylon

Buddha is said to have visited the island of Laṅkā three times. These visits are mentioned in the historical section of the Samantapāsādikā.[9] In the Dīpavaṃsa and the Mahāvaṃsa they are described in detail.

The first occurred in the fifth month after the Enlightenment. In the centre of Laṅkā, in the delightful Mahānāga garden, the customary meeting place of the Yakkhas, there was a great gathering of the Yakkhas

1 Mv 10 vv. 97—99
2 Ibid. 33. 44
3 Mv 39. 20
4 Rhys Dvids: Buddhist India p. 141
5 Mv 10. vv. 101—102
6 Ibid. 8.24
7 Ibid.. 10. 98
8 Ibid. 10. 100
9 Smp I 89

dwelling in the island. The Buddha went to this assembly and hovering in the air over their heads, at the place of the (future) Mahiyaṅgana thūpa he struck terror into their hearts by rain, storm, darkness and such phenomena. Next, having released them from their terrors, the Blessed One caused the pleasant Giridīpa to come near to them, and by a device made them withdraw to that land. When they had settled there, he made the land return to its former place. Then, the devas assembled, and in their assembly the Master preached the Doctrine. Many *koṭis* of beings attained the realization of the Truth (*Dhammābhisamaya*), and countless were those who came unto the three Refuges and the Precepts of Duty.[1] Buddha freed Laṅkā of the Yakkhas because he foresaw that that fair isle would after his passing away be the stronghold of his teachings.[2] The Nāga Maṇiakkhika of Kalyāṇī, we are told, accepted the Buddhist faith during this first visit of the Master.[3]

The second visit took place in the fifth year after the Enlightenment. This visit was to save two hostile Nāga kings from an impending war which, if fought, would have been disastrous to both parties. After settling their dispute the Buddha preached the Doctrine and eighty *koṭis* of Nāgas dwelling in the ocean and on the mainland were converted.[4]

Three years later the Enlightened One visited the island again at the request of Maṇiakkhika.[5] It was during this visit that the Buddha is said to have left the imprint of his foot on the peak of the Sumana Mountain.

These visits, as noted above, are recorded only in the Dīpavaṃsa, Samantapāsādikā and the Mahāvaṃsa. No mention is made of them in any part of the Pāli Canon. This negative evidence, though a weighty one, is not sufficient for us to arrive at a decision and deny the truth of this tradition. This tradition may probably have arisen from the arrival, before the advent of Mahinda, of some Buddhist missionaries from India and also from the existence in Ceylon of a considerable number of Buddhists among the earlier inhabitants, namely, the Yakkhas and the Nāgas.

To support this hypothesis there is another valuable reference in the Mahāvaṃsa. The Mahiyaṅgaṇa thūpa, says the Great Chronicle, existed in Ceylon long before the arrival of Mahinda. When the Buddha first visited Ceylon, the deva Mahāsumana of the Sumanakūṭa Mountain requested the Buddha to give him something to worship. The Master took a handful of hairs from his head and gave it to the deva. The latter enshrined it respectfully in a thūpa which he built at the place where the Master had sat. After the passing away of the Buddha, the thera Sarabhū, a disciple of the thera Sāriputta, brought the collar-bone of the Buddha and deposited it in the same thūpa. Later Uddhacūlābhaya, the son of king Devānampiyatissa's brother, saw the wondrous cetiya and covered it over afresh and made it thirty cubits high. Still later, king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, dwelling there while he made war upon the Damiḷas, built a mantle cetiya over it eighty cubits high.[6]

1 Mv 21 foll.
2 Smp I 89
3 Mv 1.64
4 Ibid. 1.44 foll.
5 Ibid 1.71 foll.
6 Mv 1.37 foll.

When the extraordinary elements on this account are removed, we find a foundation of historical truth, namely, that long before Mahinda's day there were at least a few Buddhist monks in Ceylon and that this cetiya was built by them.

Nor can one, with regard to the question at hand, ignore the arrival in succession of a large number of people from India, among whom, it is difficult to believe, there were no Buddhists.

In order to perform the consecration of Vijaya, the ministers sent an embassy to Madhurā requesting the Pāṇḍyan king to send his daughter to be the queen of Vijaya. In due course she was sent along with many maidens, craftsmen and a thousand families of the eighteen guilds.[1]

The arrival of Princess Bhaddakaccānā[2] and her retinue, too, brings us to the same, or, in fact, a more decisive conclusion. Bhaddakaccānā was the youngest daughter of Paṇḍu, the Sakyan, a cousin of the Buddha. 'She was (even as) a woman made of gold, fair of form and eagerly wooed. For (love of) her did seven kings send precious gifts to the king (Paṇḍu), but for fear of the king, as since he was told (by soothsayers) that an auspicious journey would come to pass, nay, one with the result of royal consecration, he placed his daughter speedily upon a ship, together with thirty-two women friends, and launched the ship upon the Ganges, saying : 'Whosoever can, let him take my daughter.' And they could not overtake her, but the ship fared swiftly thence. Already on the second day they reached the haven called Goṇagāmaka and there they landed robed like nuns (*pabbajitā*).[3]

Here two facts support our view. First, she is said to be very closely related to the Buddha, and one may rightly infer that she and her friends were not all ignorant of the teachings of their royal kinsman. Indeed, we would not be far wrong if we take for granted that they, and at least Bhaddakaccānā and some of her friends, were followers of the Buddha. Secondly, we are told they came disguised as nuns (*pabbajitā*). Though, as noted before, it is not possible to say definitely what was meant by *pabbajitā*, considering the locality from which they came and their connections with the Buddha's family, it is very likely that this word signified Buddhist bhikkhuṇīs.

As shown in the preceding pages, there lived in pre-Mahindian Ceylon people belonging to almost every religious sect then existing in India. Even Ājīvakas who were, by no means, so numerous as the followers of the Buddha are mentioned as living in Ceylon. How then is one to account for the absence of any mention of Buddhists ? The only explanation possible is that silence was observed with regard to their existence in order to create a dark background on the canvas on which the enthusiastic narrator of Buddhist history might successfully paint his glowing picture of Mahinda's miraculous conversion of the island.

Again, when we consider how rapidly the conversion of Ceylon took place, it is difficult to believe that the people were, till then, entirely ignorant of the teaching. After the very first discourse of Mahinda forty thousand people including the king embraced the Buddhist faith. His other discourses, too, were equally successful.

1 Mv 7.48 foll.
2 Mv 8.20
3 Mv 8. 20—23

All these facts help us to conclude that Buddhism did exist in Ceylon before the time of Mahinda, though it was only after Devānampiyatissa's conversion that it became the state religion of the country.[1] Moreover, it may be justly said that Mahinda's mission had as its chief aim not the mere introduction of the teachings of the Buddha to Ceylon but the formation of the monastic order and thereby the ' establishment ' of the sāsana in the island.

1 *See* also J. R. A. S. (C.B.) 1929 p. 282.

CHAPTER TWO

The Advent of Mahinda

THE history of Ceylon assumes a less nebulous and more trustworthy character with the arrival of Mahinda two hundred and thirty-six years after the passing away of the Buddha.[1] The details of the advent of this great missionary are given only in the two Ceylon Chronicles and in the Samantapāsādikā. No mention of it is made in any of the Edicts of Asoka discovered so far, though in his thirteenth Edict, Ceylon is mentioned as one of the many countries in which conquests by the Dhamma had been made by him.

As pointed out by Prof. Rhys Davids,[2] the truth of the Ceylon Chronicles with regard to the mission sent during Asoka's reign to the Himālayan region is confirmed in a striking manner by the archaeological discoveries made at Sāñchi. If the Chronicles are so accurate with regard to this mission which took place in a region where the Sinhalese had hardly any interest, it is justifiable to suppose that the account of Mahinda's mission to Ceylon is more than mere legend. One must, of course, allow a sufficiently wide margin for the later amplifications and exaggerations that must have naturally crept in as a result of literary embellishment and the desire to provide religious edification. This allowance should be made not only in this particular instance but also in the numerous other instances in the Chronicles as well as in the Aṭṭhakathās where supernatural phenomena are recorded.

The Samantapāsādikā Account of Mahinda's Advent

The description given in the Samantapāsādikā agrees, though not often in the order of narration, in the main points with the Mahāvaṃsa account. Probably both accounts were obtained from the same original source.

After the third Council at Patna (Pāṭaliputta) Mahinda was requested by his preceptor and the saṅgha to visit Ceylon and establish the sāsana in that island.[3] After consideration Mahinda concluded that it was not yet the proper time to go there. Muṭasiva (307—247 B.C.), the then reigning monarch of Ceylon, was advanced in years and it was not possible to establish the sāsana under his patronage. Awaiting the accession of Muṭasiva's son Devānampiyatissa to the throne, Mahinda set out from Asokārāma with the theras Iṭṭhiya, Uttiya, Sambala, Bhaddasāla, the novice Sumana and the lay disciple Bhaṇḍuka to pay a visit to his relatives. Mahinda, in due course, arrived at and lived for one month at Vedisagiri, the residential quarters of his mother.

Devānampiyatissa and Asoka

By this time the death of Muṭasiva had occurred and his son Tissa was annointed king of Ceylon. There existed strong ties of friendly affection between Devānampiyatissa and Dhammāsoka, though they had never seen each other. It is said that when Tissa ascended the throne many precious

1 Smp I 73
2 Buddhist India pp 299 foll.
3 Smp I 69 foll.

jewels sprang up to the surface of the earth as a result of his previous merit.[1] These he sent as a gift to Asoka. The latter, in return, sent to Tissa the five ensigns of royalty and other things necessary for the consecration of a king. He sent not only these material gifts but also the gift of the Dhamma.[2] His message ran : " I have taken refuge in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha, and I have declared myself a lay disciple in the religion of the Son of the Sākiyas. Take delight, even thou, in these three, in the Supreme Religion of the Conqueror, and come to the Refuge with faith." When Devānampiyatissa received the message and gifts from Asoka, he performed a second consecration on the full-moon day of Vesākha.[3]

This description, it may be noted, does not agree in all details, with what is given in the Mahāvaṃsa and the Dīpavaṃsa.[4] The Mahāvaṃsa adds that Asoka, not finding in his possession such precious things as were sent to him by Devānampiyatissa, conferred titles and ranks of honour on Ariṭṭha and others who brought him the gifts.[5] Further, the Samantapāsādikā, after giving the description of Tissa's gift and Asoka's return gift, quotes the Dīpavaṃsa as the authority for the same.[6] But the corresponding Dīpavaṃsa verses differ considerably from those quotations.[7]

Arrival of Mahinda

After spending one month at Vedisagiri, on the full-moon day of Jeṭṭhamūla (April–May or May–June) Mahinda and the other six mentioned above, coming together, discussed whether it was the right time to go to Ceylon.[8] Then Indra, who in Pāli Buddhist literature is better known as Sakka, the chief (Inda) of the gods, approached Mahinda, requested him to go over and promised his help in the conversion of the island.[9] This deity, as we shall see later, plays a prominent part in the Buddhist legends of Ceylon. Mahinda, so the story goes, accepted his request and, accompanied by the other six, sprang up from the mountain Vedisaka to the sky and stood on the Missaka-pabbata, which lies to the east of Anurādhapura and which in later days was known by the name of Cetiyapabbata.

Tissa meets Mahinda

This day happened to be the festival day known as the Jeṭṭhamūla-nakkhatta.[10] We have no other evidence to prove or disprove the truth of this coincidence of events, but we may note that it is quite a natural tendency to associate important events of a new religion with outstanding dates of an older period. The king, on that day, proclaimed the festival and accompanied by forty thousand men set forth to Missakapabbata to enjoy the pleasures of the chase. Following a *rohita*[11] deer, Tissa climbed the mountain and came to the spot where the theras were. Mahinda, seeing that the king was approaching him, called out : " Come here, Tissa." At this the king was surprised and harboured a doubt as to whether the thera

1 Smp I 74
2 Ibid. I 76
3 Ibid. I 76
4 Mv 11. vv. 8 foll.; Dip. 11 vv. 14 foll.
5 Mv 11 vv. 25, 26
6 Smp I 74, 75
7 Dip. 11 vv 15—17, 32—34
8 Smp I 70
9 Ibid. 71
10 Smp I 73
11 Mv 14.3 calls it a *gokaṇṇa*

was a human being or not.[1] The Mahāvaṃsa tells us that this doubt did not leave the king until he had had a private talk with Bhaṇḍu just before he left for the city in the evening.[2] Mahinda had a conversation with Tissa, during which he gauged the intellectual capacity of the latter.[3] Finding that the king was quick-witted and able to understand the Dhamma, he expounded the Cūlahatthipadopama Sutta.[4] At the end of the discourse the king and his retinue of forty thousand people embraced the new faith.

This sounds a miraculous conversion. But if we take forty thousand not literally but simply to mean a large number, and when we remember that, as was shown in the preceding chapter, Buddhism was known earlier in Ceylon, we may well take this seemingly sudden conversion to be but a formal and public declaration of the faith to which many in that gathering had hitherto adhered but only in a private capacity.

In the evening meals were brought to the king. Even as he listened to the Sutta, the king knew that taking meals at that time was unlawful to the theras. But thinking that it was unseemly for him to partake of the food without inviting the theras he invited them. The invitation was, of course, not accepted.

The king then departed to the city and made arrangements to receive the theras on the morrow. Mahinda and those who came with him spent the night on the Missaka Mountain, and on the same night Bhaṇḍu was received into the Order. Many miraculous things are stated to have happened during that night as also during the days that followed. But the descriptions of these preternatural occurrences need not obscure from our sight the historical kernel that lies within this legendary matter. Legends do not arise out of nothing. The greater the number of legends that grow round a person or an event, the more does it point to the great personality of that individual or the deep impression that that event had created in the minds of the people at the time.

Entry into the Capital

On the following morning Mahinda and the other bhikkhus went to Anurādhapura. The king ordered seats to be prepared for them inside the palace. It is said that the soothsayers, when they saw the seats prepared, foretold : " The earth is occupied by these (bhikkhus), they will be lords upon this island Tambapaṇṇi."[5] The king went forward to meet the theras, and, with due greetings and respect, led them into the palace. Mahinda, seeing the manner in which the seats were spread, took his seat, thinking to himself that the religion would be well established and would take root in the whole of Laṅkā. The king served the theras with dainty dishes, and calling upon the five hundred ladies, with Anulādevī at their head, to make obeisance to the theras, himself took his seat on a side. After the meal was over, Mahinda preached the Petavatthu, Vimānavatthu and Saccasaṃyutta[6] to the people assembled including the king. Hearing this discourse, the five hundred ladies attained the Fruition of the First Path.

1 Smp I 74
2 Mv 14 vv 29—31
3 Smp I 77; Mv 14 vv. 16 foll.
4 M I pp. 175—184
5 Smp I 79
6 The Petavatthu and Vimānavatthu are books in the Khuddakanikāya, and the Saccasaṃyutta is a section of the Saṃyuttanikāya (Vol. V. pp. 414—478).

The people who saw the theras at Missakapabbata on the previous day, conveyed the news to their neighbours and this resulted in a vast multitude of people assembling at the gate of the palace.[1] But as they had no opportunity to see the theras the people raised a cry. The king learning what they desired, ordered the hall of the state elephant to be decorated, and prepared to receive the theras. Mahinda went there and preached the Devadūta Suttanta.[2] At the end of the discourse one thousand[3] beings attained the Fruition of the First Path.

The elephant's hall, too, soon became insufficient and seats were prepared in the park Nandanavana at the southern gate of the city. The thera went there and preached the Āsivisopama Sutta.[4] On hearing the teaching another thousand persons attained the *Sotāpattiphala*. Thus on the second day after Mahinda's arrival, two thousand and five hundred beings attained the realization of the Truth.

From the facility with which Mahinda and the people of Ceylon understood one another, we may incidentally observe how closely allied the languages in Ceylon and in North India at that time must have been. A comparison of the earliest inscriptions of Ceylon and those of North India in the corresponding age leads one to the same inference.

Gift of the Park Meghavana

Even as the thera was conversing in the Nandanavana with numbers of ladies of noble families who came to see him, the day drew to its close. Mahinda, observing the time, rose up from his seat to go to the Missaka Mountain. The ministers, learning the intention of the thera, informed the king, and with the permission of the latter, requested the theras to spend the night at Nandanavana, but they did not accept the request. Then again, the ministers, being ordered by the king, invited the theras to Meghavana, a park which was neither too far away from nor too close to the town. The theras accepted the invitation and spent the night there. In the morning the king went to Meghavana and bestowed the park on the thera. The grant of this gift was followed by miraculous happenings.[5] One can understand the significance given to this gift as it marked the beginning of the establishment of the Mahāvihāra which became the leading monastery in Ceylon during many centuries that followed.

On the following day, the third one from his arrival, Mahinda preached the Anamataggiya[6] Discourse.[7] On the fourth[8] day was preached the Aggikhandhopama Sutta.[9] Seven days were thus spent, converting the multitudes to the faith and helping many in the realization of the Truth. On the seventh day the thera preached the Mahā-appamāda[10] Sutta to the

1 Smp I 80
2 A I pp. 138—142
3 Five hundred, one thousand, ten thousand, sixteen thousand, eighty-four thousand etc., often occur in Pāli books. Evidently these are not to be taken literally, but as representing large numbers of different degrees.
4 Mv gives it as the Bālapaṇḍita Suttanta (Mv 15.4)
5 Smp I 80
6 S II pp. 178—193
7 Smp I 81. the Mahāvamsa states that this Sutta was preached on the fourth day. (Mv 15.186).
8 Second day according to Mv 15.176.
9 A IV pp. 128—135
10 There are several Suttas bearing this title. *See* Geiger's Mahāvaṃsa translation p.31 note 3 and p. 114 note 2.

king and returned to Cetiyagiri. According to the Mahāvaṃsa, Mahinda returned on the thirteenth day of the bright half of the month Āsāḷha (May–June or June–July).[1] The reason that caused the theras to return was the approach of the *vassa* season, and as the bhikkhus start the *vassa* period on the full-moon day of Āsāḷha, the Mahāvaṃsa account seems to be the more accurate of the two. From the eager manner in which Mahinda exhorted the king to be diligent (*appamāda*), the latter suspected that the thera was getting ready to depart from the island. One may here recall the words of the Buddha "*vayadhammā bhikkhave saṅkhārā, 'appamādena' sampādetha,*" addressed to his disciples just before his passing away. Devānampiyatissa made haste to Cetiyagiri and inquired about the intentions of the thera. Mahinda explained to the king that he was not intending to leave the island, but that during the *vassa* period bhikkhus had to stay in one place and hence his retreat to the mountain.

Ariṭṭha enters the Order

On that day the minister, Ariṭṭha, entered the Order with fifty-five[2] of his elder and younger brothers (*bhātukehi saddiṃ*) and became Arahants immediately. There seems to be a confusion with regard to the name Ariṭṭha. It appears on several occasions in the Mahāvaṃsa and in the Samantapāsādikā.

(1) The embassy that conveyed the presents from Devānampiyatissa to Asoka was headed by Mahā-Ariṭṭha, who was the king's nephew and on whom the rank of a Commander in the Army (*Senāpatiṭṭhāna*) was bestowed by Asoka.[3]

(2) On the seventh day[4] after Mahinda's advent, a minister, Ariṭṭha by name (*Ariṭṭho nāma amacco*), entered the Order with fifty-five of his brothers. This is the reference that was dealt with in a previous paragraph.

(3) When Anulā expressed the desire to enter the Order, Tissa, at the behest of Mahinda, sent his nephew Ariṭṭha (*Ariṭṭham nāma attano bhāgineyyaṃ*) to fetch the theri Saṅghamittā.[5] The choice of this envoy was made by Tissa after due consideration with his ministers. It is reasonable to suppose that Ariṭṭha was chosen because he had previous experience of going to the court of Asoka. The Mahāvaṃsa calls him "nephew Mahā-Ariṭṭha". Hence we can safely identify this Ariṭṭha with the Mahā-Ariṭṭha (No. 1). Further, as he did not return to Ceylon till the month of Maggasira[6] (Oct.–Nov. or Nov.–Dec.) he cannot be the same as the Ariṭṭha (No. 2),

1 Mv 16. vv. 2, 3
2 Fifty-five, it must be noted, is a common round number in Pāli literature. For example, when Soṇaka went to Veḷuvana, fifty-five young brāhmanas accompanied him (Mv 5. 115); the pork-butcher at Rājagaha carried on his cruel occupation for fifty-five years (DhA I 125); the Jātaka Commentary is known better in Ceylon by its traditional name "Book of the 550 (*i.e.*, ten times fifty-five) Jātakas", though it does not contain that exact number of stories. Again, the word *bhātā* or *bhātuko* used in the passage, has a significance wider than that of the English word 'brother'. The former can and often does include sons of paternal uncles. The Sinhalese have gone still further and understand by the term *sahodara* (uterine brother) not only one's "uterine" brothers but also the male first cousins either on the maternal or the paternal side.
3 Mv 11. vv.20, 25
4 that is, according to the Samantapāsādikā v
5 Smp I 90; Mv 18.3
6 Smp I 98; Mv 19.24

who, as we know, entered the Order either in the month of Jeṭṭhamūla (according to the Samantapāsādikā) or in the month of Āsāḷha (according to the Mahāvaṃsa).

(4) This same Ariṭṭha (*i.e.*, same as No. 3), after his return from India, entered the Order along with five hundred men and became Arahants.[1] Here, too, he is called the king's nephew (*rañño bhāgineyyo*).

(5) In the Vinaya recital that took place during Devānampiyatissa's reign, Mahā-Ariṭṭha[2] played somewhat the same part as Upāli did in the first council at Rājagaha.

From the facts given above it is clear that there were two Ariṭṭhas, both ministers, and both nephews of the king. One (Nos. 1, 3, 4 and 5) was Mahā-Ariṭṭha and the other (No. 2) was Ariṭṭha. One may even go a step further and suggest that they were brothers. It was quite a common custom to give the same name to two sons and differentiate one from the other by adding the prefix Mahā (the Great or the Elder) to the elder's name.

Now to return to the main subject. After Ariṭṭha and his brothers entered the Order, Tissa caused the construction of the sixty-eight caves (*aṭṭhasaṭṭhi-lena*) at Cetiyagiri to be started and returned to Anurādhapura. The theras spent the first *vassa* at Cetiyagiri. At that time there were sixty-two Arahants who spent the *vassa* there.[3] G. C. Mendis draws attention to the parallel between this account and the Mahāvagga account of the Buddha's first *vassa* in which also there were sixty-two Arahants including the Buddha.[4] With reference to the Mahāvaṃsa and the Samantapāsādikā accounts of Mahinda's first *vassa* Mendis remarks: "The number of *arahants* in Ceylon was really sixty-three. Perhaps it was made sixty-two to make it similar to the Mahāvagga account." It may also be added that sixty-two is another round number which is very commonly used in Pāli literature.

After spending the *vassa* period the thera acquainted the king with his desire of getting a thūpa built, containing the bodily relics of the Buddha. This led to the erection of the Thūpārāma Dāgäba.[5] During the course of the construction of the thūpa, Abhaya, a brother of king Devānampiyatissa, entered the Order along with a thousand men. Five hundred young men from the village Cetālī became monks and a like number from each village such as Dvāramaṇḍalā. The number of monks thus became thirty thousand.[6]

Whatever be the significance of these figures, there is no doubt that the religion spread rapidly in the island. The fact that Mahinda was of royal blood and closely connected with the Emperor Asoka, whom we have reason to suppose was highly respected in Ceylon, the conversion of Tissa, the respect that he continued to show to Mahinda, the entering into the monkhood of eminent men in the royal family such as the two Ariṭṭhas and Abhaya

1 Smp I 101
2 Ibid I 103. The variant reading No. 11 as Mahā-Ariṭṭha instead of Ariṭṭha on Smp I 102 appears to be the correct one.
3 Smp I 83
4 "A Historical Criticism of the Mahāvaṃsa". Thesis (Ms) in the London University Library, pp. 175, 176.
5 This question will be dealt with in another connection later.
6 Mv 17. 59—61

—all these must have contributed in no small measure to the propagation of the faith.

The king's sister-in-law, Anulā, who had already become a Sotāpanna was now desirous of joining the Order of Buddhist nuns. Mahinda could not confer pabbajjā on her as, according to the Vinaya, that could be done only by a bhikkhuṇī. Mahinda, thereafter, asked the king to send a message to his sister Saṅghamittā to come over to Ceylon and establish the bhikkhuṇī sāsana (the Order of Buddhist nuns).[1]

Bringing of the Bodhi Tree

As was referred to before, the message was forthwith sent by Devānampiyatissa through Ariṭṭha. The latter was also asked to bring a branch of the Bodhi Tree under which the Buddha attained Enlightenment.[2] The manner in which Asoka severed the branch from the sacred tree, how it was sent to Ceylon, and how Devānampiyatissa accepted it are all described with legendary details in the Mahāvaṃsa[3] and in the Samantapāsādikā.[4] To watch over the Bodhi Tree Asoka sent[5] eighteen *khattiya* families (*deva-kulāni*) and eight families each of ministers, brāhmaṇas, householders (*kuṭumbikā*)[6], cowherds and also eight each of the Taraccha[7] and Kalinga[5] tribes. The Mahāvaṃsa adds to the list eighteen families from the weavers, potters, from all the guilds (*seṇī*) and from the Nāgas and the Yakkhas.[8]

The place where it was planted at Anurādhapura is said to be the sacred spot on which stood the southern branches of the Bodhi Trees of the three previous Buddhas.[9] People from many parts of the country were present at the ceremony of planting the tree.[10] Saplings grown from the seeds of this tree were planted near the port at Jambukola, at the gate of the village of the brāhmaṇa Tavakka (or Tivakka), at Thūpārāma, Issaranimmāna-vihāra, Paṭhamacetiya, Cetiyapabbata, Kācaragāma and Candanagāma in the district of Rohaṇa and in thirty-two other places at a distance of one yojana from one another.[11] From that day up to the present, the Buddhists in Ceylon have paid and are paying the utmost reverence to this branch of the Bodhi Tree under the shade of which the Master received his Enlightenment. In the words of Paul E. Pieris: "It is doubtful if any other single incident in the long story of their race has seized upon the imagination of the Sinhalese with such tenacity as this of the planting of the aged tree. Like its pliant roots, which find sustenance on the face of the bare rock and cleave their way through the stoutest fabric, the influence of what it represents has penetrated into the innermost being of the people till the tree itself has become almost human."[12]

1 Smp I 90
2 Ibid. I 90
3 Mv 18.23 foll.
4 Smp I 92 foll.
5 Ibid. I 96
6 Mv 19.2 has 'traders' (seṭṭhī)
7 *See* Mv Translation p. 128. note 2
8 Mv 19.3
9 Smp I 99
10 Ibid. 100
11 Smp I 100
12 P. E. Pieris: Ceylon and the Portuguese pp. 3, 4. quoted in P. L. C. p. 24.

Some scholars have doubted the historicity of this tree on the ground that there is no external evidence to corroborate the Ceylon tradition. Geiger firmly upholds the tradition. He remarks : " The narrative of the transplanting of a branch of the sacred Bodhi-tree from Uruvelā to Ceylon finds interesting confirmation in the monuments. At least, Grūndwedel, in an ingenious and, to me, convincing way, points out that the sculptures of the lower and middle architraves of the East Gate of the Sāñchi Tope are representations of that event. Since the Sāñchi-sculptures belong to the second century B.C., the representation is distant from the event by, roughly speaking, only 100 or most 150 years.[1] Rhys Davids has expressed the same opinion.[2]

Besides planting the branch of the Bodhi Tree, Tissa did much else that was beneficial to the religion. His meritorious works included the building of the Mahāvihāra, Cetiyavihāra and Thūpārāma, the enshrining of the collar-bone of the Buddha, the erecting of Issarasamaṇavihāra, Jambukola in Nāgadīpa, Tissamahāvihāra, Pācīnārāma and the two nunneries Upāsikāvihāra and Hatthāḷhakavihāra.[3]

The Vinaya Recital

Having accomplished all this for the propagation of the sāsana, Tissa asked Mahinda whether the sāsana was established in the island.[4] The latter replied : " Great king, the sāsana is established but it has not taken root." Being questioned further as to when and how it would take root, Mahinda explained : " When a person born of parents who belong to Tambapaṇṇidīpa, enters pabbajjā in Tambapaṇṇidīpa, learns the Vinaya in Tambapaṇṇidīpa, and recites the same in Tambapaṇṇidīpa, then will the sāsana take root in the land." The bhikkhu, Mahā-Ariṭṭha, possessed all these qualifications and arrangements were promptly made for a recital of the Vinaya. A pavilion was erected on the spot where the pariveṇa of the minister Meghavaṇṇābhaya stood. The description is modelled on that of the first council held at Rājagaha. Sixty-eight mahātheras, each having a following of thousand bhikkhus assembled at Thūpārāma. A basic difference, however, should be noted between this council and the one at Rājagaha. The latter was assembled to codify and arrange the Vinaya and the Dhamma, whereas the object of the Thūpārāma Council was the teaching of Vinaya by a Sinhalese bhikkhu. Thus Mahā-Ariṭṭha assumed the rôle of a Vinaya teacher and five hundred bhikkhus with Mattābhaya thera, a younger brother of the king, received the teaching. The king, too, with his retinue (*sarājikā ca parisā*) was present at the recital, a feature which was absent in the first Council.

The sāsana was thus firmly established and well-rooted in the island. Following the lead given by members of the royal family thousands entered the Order. Mahinda, needless to say, well deserved the epithet often applied to him, '*Dīpappasādako*' (he who made the island bright). About seven hundred years later the compiler of the Pāli Commentary on the Itivuttaka records that even up to his day those who joined the Order did so following the footsteps of Mahā-Mahinda thera.[5]

1 Mv Trans. Intr. p. xx.
2 Buddhist India p. 302
3 Mv 20.17 foll.
4 Smp I 102
5 ItA 259. Also *see* SA Sn III 125

Bhikkhuṇī-sāsana

A few words should also be said in this connection with regard to the establishment of the Bhikkhuṇī-sāsana or the Order of Buddhist nuns. Awaiting the arrival of Saṅghamittā, Anulā and many ladies who followed her example, took upon themselves the observance of the ten precepts (*dasa sīlāni*) and lived in a nunnery specially built for them.[1] When Saṅghamittā arrived they entered the Order under her and within a short time became Arahants.[2]

According to the Dīpavaṃsa a large number of bhikkhuṇīs accompanied Saṅghamittā from India. They were Uttarā, Hemā, Pasādapālā, Aggimittā, Dāsikā, Pheggū, Pabbatā, Mattā, Mallā, Dhammadiyā,[3] Mahādevī, Padumā, Hemāsā, Unnalā, Añjalī and Sumā.[4] All these bhikkhuṇīs taught the Vinaya Piṭaka and the Doctrine at Anurādhapura. The first ten in this list were young (*dahara bhikkuṇiyo*) when they came to the island.[5] Those who received ordination in Ceylon included Saddhammanandī, Somā, Giriddhī, Dāsiyā, Dhammā, Dhammapālā, Mahilā, Sobhanā, Dhammatāpasā, Naramittā, Sātā, Kālī and Uttarā.[6] If there is any historical truth in these records they show us the success which the Bhikkhuṇī-sāsana had at its very inception in Ceylon.[7]

The nunnery in which Anulā and her friends lived, awaiting the arrival of Saṅghamittā, was known as the Upāsikāvihāra. Later Saṅghamittā, too, lived here with her company of nuns. In this place she caused twelve buildings to be erected, of which three were more important than the rest. The mast, the rudder and the helm of the ship that brought the branch of the Bodhi Tree were kept, one in each, in these three buildings and, therefore, they came to be known as the *Kūpayaṭṭhiṭhapita-ghara*, *Piyaṭhapita-ghara* and *Ariṭṭha-ṭhapita-ghara* respectively. Even when, in later days, other sects such as the Dhammarucika arose, these twelve buildings were always used by the Hatthāḷhaka bhukkhuṇīs.[8] The Mahāvaṃsa gives a detailed account of the reasons that led to the building of the Hatthāḷhaka nunnery.[9] This account explains how the dwellers of the Upāsikā-vihāra came by the name Hatthāḷhaka.[10]

Passing away of Mahinda and Saṅghamittā

Devānampiyatissa reigned for forty years and on his death was succeeded by his brother Uttiya. In the eighth year of his reign Mahinda, who was sixty years old from the date of his upasampadā ordination, passed away on the eighth day of the bright half of the month Assayuja, while he was spending the rainy season on the Cetiya Mountain.[11] If, as is customary, Mahinda obtained upasampadā ordination at the age of twenty, he must

1 Smp I 91
2 Ibid. I 101
3 Dīp. 18. vv. 11, 12
4 Ibid. 18.24
5 Ibid. 18.12
6 Ibid. 18. 14—16
7 It should however be mentioned that these records are in a confused state. The Dīpavaṃsa seems to have had linked together several lists of names of bhikkhuṇīs without paying due regard to a chronological order.
8 Mv 19.68—71
9 Ibid. 19.72—83
10 Ibid p. 134 note 2 (in Geiger's translation)
11 Ibid. 20. 32, 33

have come to Ceylon at the age of thirty-two and died at the age of eighty. The *parinibbāna* of Saṅghamittā, too, took place in the following year while she dwelt in the Hatthāḷhaka vihāra.[1]

The great thera passed away from the world of mortals but the memory of his name lives fresh to this day in the minds of the people of the land, for the welfare of which he dedicated his whole life. Even today thousands of devout pilgrims wend their way up the flight of eighteen hundred and more steps hewn out of solid rock to the sacred spot where the thera lived. The mountain is called Mihintale (*Mahinda-thala*) and the cave in which he lived is known as Mihindu-guhā (*Mahinda-guhā*). A short distance below the peak is to be seen a slab of rock which tradition identifies with the bed of Mahinda. And even at present, on the full-moon day of Poson (*Jeṭṭha*) is held the annual religious festival *Mahā Mahīndrotsava* (the festival of the Great Mahinda) to commemorate the advent of the royal missionary to Ceylon.

1 Ibid. 20.48, 49

CHAPTER THREE

The Spread of the Faith

In the last chapter we saw how the sāsana was firmly established in the island under the royal patronage of Devānampiyatissa. Once deeply rooted it began to grow and extend rapidly in every direction. In a few months it reached such southern localities as Kācaragāma and Candanagāma in Rohaṇa.[1] The success with which it spread and found a happy home in the country was so remarkable that it came to be believed that the land was made fit for human habitation by the Buddha himself, for 'Lankā was known to the Conqueror as a place where his doctrine should (thereafter) shine in glory'.[2] During the next few centuries instances are not wanting of people coming to Ceylon from India to lead the higher life. Visākha, a rich householder of Patna, made his journey to Ceylon and entered the Order at the Mahā-vihāra. He had heard the report: "The Tambapaṇṇi Island (Ceylon) is adorned with garlands of shrines, is resplendent with yellow robes. There one may sit or lie down in any place one likes. Agreeable weather, suitable dwellings, agreeable men—all these are easy to get there."[3] In another reference Anurādhapura is described as being as suitable to one who leads the monastic life as India was in the time of the Buddha.[4]

The triumph of conversion was achieved during the reign of Devānampiya-tissa, and the later kings, with the exception of only a few, did all they could to make that triumph lasting.

Uttiya

The successor of Devānampiyatissa was Uttiya (207—197 B.C.).[5] As pointed out elsewhere it was during this reign that Mahinda and Saṅgha-mittā entered *parinibbāna*. The Samantapāsādikā gives the names of Tissadatta, Kālasumana and Dīghasumana as pupils of Mahā-Ariṭṭha, and we would not be wrong in supposing that they lived during the reign of this monarch. The thera Dīgha or Dīghanāga, too, was very likely a contemporary.[6] The name of Tissadatta occurs several times in the Commentaries. If the allusions are to one and the same person, he was noted for his recollectedness of mind[7] and as one who was master of eighteen languages.[8] Analytic insight came to him as a result of his wide learning;[9] and he had the *iddhi* power of minimising distance in time and space.[10] We have no records of Uttiya's contribution to the welfare of the sāsana except that of his building thūpas enshrining relics of Mahinda and Saṅgha-mittā.

1 Mv 19. vv. 54, 62
2 Ibid. 1.20
3 Vi I 312; P.P. II 359
4 Vi I 91
5 Mv 20.29
6 Smp I 62, 104
7 SV 275; Pap I 290; Man II 54
8 SV 387
9 Ibid. 389
10 Vi II 403

Sūratissa and the First Tamil invasion

Uttiya was succeeded by his brother Mahāsiva (197—187 B.C.) and the latter by his brother Sūratissa (187—177 B.C.) Sūratissa was a pious monarch and had the welfare of the sāsana at his heart. He built many vihāras at and near Anurādhapura.[1] But his reign was to witness the first of many foreign invasions which threatened the peace of the country from time to time. The country, favoured as well by the richness of the soil as by the persevering industry of the inhabitants, had progressed for three centuries. This prosperity attracted the envious eyes of the Tamils of South India and we find Sena and Guttika, two Tamil merchants, determined and powerful, making an attack on Sūratissa, defeating him and taking possession of his territory.[2] Those two reigned righteously, usurpers though they were, for twenty-two years. No records of the happenings of these dark years are available to us, but there is not the least doubt that with the assuming of the control of the government by these non-believers there appeared a cloud of gloom in the firmament of the newly established sāsana.

Elāra (145—101 *B.C.*)

Sena and Guttika were in turn overpowered by Asela, a son of Muṭasiva. If we are to accept the Mahāvaṃsa chronology he was more than ninety years old when he ascended the throne. Ten years later came, at the head of a large army, Eḷāra, another Dravidian from the Coḷa country. Asela, now a centenarian, though perhaps still young in courage and determination, proved no match for the powerful invader. He was killed in battle and Eḷāra became king. The latter proved to be one of the most just kings Ceylon ever saw. Though himself a pious Hindu, he proved no enemy of Buddhism. Indeed, we have reason to believe that some of his ministers were Buddhists and probably were Sinhalese too.[3] He helped the bhikkhus and maintained the traditions of the earlier kings of Ceylon.[4] The Mahāvaṃsa bestows unstinted praise on the virtues of this monarch.[5] But all his followers were not Eḷāras. They used their power to snatch away whatever they could from the treasures that Anurādhapura then possessed. Yet, though Eḷāra was a friend of the Buddhists, it was too much to expect his active help for the preservation and the propagation of the faith. Moreover, the independent spirit of the Sinhalese people would not long brook a foreign sway. But as they were not powerful enough to defeat Eḷāra many of the Sinhalese left Anurādhapura and went to Rohaṇa, awaiting better times to assert their rights.

Rohaṇa

Let us now leave Anurādhapura for a moment and turn our eyes towards Rohaṇa. At the time when Eḷāra was in power at Anurādhapura, there was reigning in Rohaṇa a devout but somewhat timid king, Kākavaṇṇatissa by name, a direct descendent of prince Mahānāga, brother of king Devānampiyatissa.

Mahānāga was the vice-regent under Devānampiyatissa and was dearly loved by the latter. A plot on the life of Mahānāga was made by the queen who feared that he and not her son would be the heir to the throne after Devānampiyatissa's death. The scheme failed and Mahānāga fled to Rohaṇa with his family and retinue. There he established his capital at Mahāgāma and ruled over the whole of Rohaṇa. He founded many vihāras such as the Nāgamahāvihāra and the Uddhakandarakavihāra.[1] The Mahānāga dāgāba still exists among the ruins of Māgama.[2] The building of the dāgāba known as Kirivehera at Kataragama (*Kācaragāma*) is attributed by tradition to this king.[3] The Samantapāsādikā refers to a king Mahānāga who went abroad with his brother and was established on the throne after his return.[4] The Atthasālinī has the same reference but adds that he continued bestowing gifts of medicine at Penambangaṇa as long as he lived.[5] There was only one other king by the name of Mahānāga in Ceylon before the time of Buddhaghosa, and that was Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga. As far as we can see from the Mahāvaṃsa, there was no occasion for him to go abroad, nor was there any dispute as to his right to the throne. On the other hand it is possible that when Mahānāga, the brother of Devānampiyatissa, fled to Rohaṇa he had to fight with the then ruling prince or chieftain there. Probably having been once defeated, he was forced to seek refuge abroad as he could not return to Anurādhapura from which he had already fled.

Passing rapidly over the reigns of his son Yaṭṭhālayakatissa and his grandson Goṭhābhaya we come to Kākavaṇṇatissa of whom reference was made before. It will be recalled that he was Goṭhābhaya's son and ruled over Rohaṇa from his capital at Māgama (*Mahāgāma*). A touching and interesting account of a poor but faithful man who lived during the reign of this king and who gave a meal, earned with great difficulty, to the thera Piṇḍapātiyatissa of Ambariyavihāra is given in the Manorathapūraṇī.[6] The province of Rohaṇa, on the whole, seems to have been prosperous. While narrating this episode Buddhaghosa remarks that the bhikkhus at that time had no difficulty in obtaining their requisites. Though the conditions in Rohaṇa were satisfactory, it was during this very period that Eḷāra had made himself master of the country north of the Mahawäliganga.

Kalyāṇi

In Kelaṇiya (*Kalyāṇi*), too, there was ruling at the same time a king by the name of Tissa.[7] The Mahāvaṃsa and other historical records in Ceylon are silent as to how Kalyāṇi became a separate kingdom. Perhaps when the power of the kings at Anurādhapura was on the wane, an enterprising prince made for himself a small but independent principality in the Māyā-raṭṭha with Kalyāṇi as its capital. Tissa was a Buddhist and Kalyāṇi was already an important Buddhist centre. Tissa's daughter Devī, known later as Vihāra-mahā-devī, arrived at Mahāgāma by sea after many dramatic experiences and was made the queen of Kākavaṇṇatissa.[8]

Duṭṭhagāmaṇī

Devī was a woman of extraordinary courage and sagacity. Her heart was burning with patriotism and foreign domination over the greater part of the country galled her bitterly. Two sons, Gāmaṇī and Tissa, worthy of such

1 Mv 21.3 foll.
2 Ibid. 21.10 foll.
3 As may be inferred from Mv 21.23
4 Mv 21.21
5 Ibid. 21.14 foll.

1 Mv 22.9
2 Mv Trans. p. 147 note 1
3 Ep. Zey. Vol. III p. 214
4 Smp II 473
5 Att 399
6 Man II 60 foll.
7 Mv 22.13
8 Ibid. 22.13—22

a noble mother were born to her in due course. Many miraculous incidents are said to have occurred at the birth of Gāmaṇī.[1] He grew up with a firm determination to put an end to the foreigner's sway. He gradually gathered together a strong army and begged his father for leave to fight with the Tamils. The aged king refused permission, fearing that Eḷāra was too powerful for his ambitious but young son. Gāmaṇī resented this refusal and leaving his father's roof, made secret preparations for the great task that lay before him. After the death of Kākavaṇṇatissa he returned to Mahāgāma, and aided by the sagacity and farsightedness of his mother, freed the country of the foe. The whole account is given with an abundance of deatil in the Mahāvaṃsa. We shall, however, be concerned here only with the part that Buddhism played in his activities.

From their childhood the two princes were trained to be respectful towards the saṅgha. Once in their early childhood and again when they were twelve and ten years of age respectively they were made to take a solemn promise before a large gathering of the saṅgha that they would never turn away from the bhikkhus.[2] Gāmaṇī's respect towards the bhikkhus was exceedingly great. In a battle which he waged against his brother the latter was defeated and took refuge in a vihāra. Though Gāmaṇī knew that Tissa was there he would not, on account of his respect towards the bhikkhus, lay his hands upon Tissa.[3] It was a bhikkhu, Godhatissa by name, who appeased the enmity of the two brothers. While granting pardon to Tissa, Gāmaṇī is said to have remarked to the bhikkhus : "It is known to you that we are now also your servants. If you had but sent a sāmaṇera of seven years our strife had not taken place (and all had ended) without loss of men."[4]

Gāmaṇī strictly observed the practice of offering food to the bhikkhus before partaking of his meals.[5] This he observed even under very trying circumstances. In the war with his brother, once Gāmaṇī himself was defeated and, with his minister Tissa, took refuge in a jungle. He felt very hungry but when some food brought by Tissa was placed before him, he would not eat it until he had given a portion of it to a bhikkhu. The meal time was proclaimed and the thera Gotama of Piyaṅgudīpa, hearing it, sent the thera Tissa to accept the food.[6] Again during the time of the great famine called the Akkhakhāyika famine, Gāmaṇī obtained for two precious earrings a dish of sour millet gruel and gave it to five great theras.[7] While lying on his death-bed Duṭṭhagāmaṇī declared that of all gifts given by him these two gladdened his heart most as they were given with disregard for his own life while he was in adversity. Only once had he taken a meal without sharing it with the saṅgha and, as a penance for this omission, he built the Maricavaṭṭi-vihāra.[8] Even when setting out to fight with the Tamils the king took with him five hundred bhikkhus so that he could treat them with honour when he was engaged in battle.[9]

1 Ibid. 22.59 foll.
2 Mv 22. 78—80
3 Ibid. 24.39
4 Mv 24.49 foll.
5 Att 80
6 Mv 24.22 foll. The Manorathapūranī (II 212, 213) gives the same account but with more detail. There the thera is called Bodhimātu Mahātissa.
7 Mv 32.29, 30
8 Ibid. 25.115
9 Mv 25.2

Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's chief aim was to protect the religion from the ravages of the Dravidian foe. "Not for the joy of sovereignty," he declared, "is this toil of mine ; my striving (has been) ever to establish the doctrine of the Sambuddha."[1] Having once defeated the Tamils and the whole country brought under his sole authority, he devoted his entire time (101—77 B.C.) to the improvement of the state of Buddhism in Ceylon.

Maricavaṭṭi-vihāra

His first undertaking was the building of the Maricavaṭṭi vihāra. As noted before, this vihāra was built by him as a penance for partaking of some long pepper (*marica*) without giving a share to the bhikkhus. The building of the vihāra was finished in three years. To consecrate the monastery he held a festival. On that occasion a hundred thousand bhikkhus and ninety thousand bhikkhuṇīs are reported to have been present.[2]

An interesting account of an incident which occurred on that day and had its consequences later is mentioned in several of the Aṭṭhakathās.[3] A young sāmaṇera of seven years received a bowl of hot gruel and was carrying it with difficulty, placing it alternately on the fringe of his robe and on the ground. A sāmaṇerī saw this and gave him a vessel to serve as a holder. Sixty years later there was a famine[4] in Ceylon and both of them went (separately) to India. The bhikkhuṇī (formerly sāmaṇerī) heard that a bhikkhu from Ceylon had arrived and came to see him. On conversation she discovered that he was none other than the sāmaṇera whom she had met at the festival of the Maricavaṭṭivihāra. Mutual love immediately sprang up in their hearts and, though elders of sixty years, they fell from their higher life and committed the *pārājikā* offence.

Lohapāsāda

Duṭṭhagāmaṇī proceeded next to cause an *uposathāgāra* or a meeting-hall of the chapter to be built. It is said that the erection of this building was predicted by Mahinda himself and that the plan was made by eight Arahants on the model of a celestial palace.[5] Desirous of obtaining the full merit for himself, the king proclaimed that no work in connection with the building was to be done by anyone without receiving payment or rewards for the same.[6] When completed the building consisted of nine storeys, the first being occupied by ordinary bhikkhus, the second by those learned in the three Piṭakas, the third, fourth and fifth by those who had attained to the stages of *sotāpatti, sakadāgāmi* and *anāgāmi* respectively and the four topmost storeys by Arahants.[7] The building was covered over with plates of copper, and hence it received its name Lohapāsāda or the "Brazen Palace."[8] The pillars that once suppported this magnificent building are still to be seen in their original places at Anurādhapura. The consecration of this *pāsāda* was done with the same grandeur as that of the Maricavaṭṭivihāra.

1 Ibid. 25.17
2 Ibid. 26.14 foll.
3 Pap II 145; Pj II 71; CuNiA 79; APA 128
4 Very likely the Brāhmaṇatissa famine of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī's day.
5 Mv 27.3 foll.
6 Ibid. 27.23
7 Ibid. 27.44 foll.
8 Ibid. 27.42

Mahāthūpa

The erection of the Mahāthūpa (now Ruvanwäli-sāya) was, however, the greatest of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's works. In the building of this, as in the case of the Maricavaṭṭivihāra, he issued the proclamation that none should do any work in connection with it without receiving due reward for his or her contribution. The Mahāvaṃsa and other later literary works have preserved for us many interesting records of the miraculous ways in which Duṭṭhagāmaṇī received the wherewithal to put his plans into execution. Men and goods, bhikkhus and laymen, all had their share in making the work a success.[1]

The foundation-stone was laid on the full-moon day of the month Vesākha. Many well known theras from abroad are said to have come with their retinues to Anurādhapura on that day: Indagutta from Rājagaha (now (Rājgir), Dhammasena from Isipatana (Benares), Piyadassi from Jetavana, Uru-Buddharakkhita from the Mahāvana monastery in Vesāli (probably the modern Basār in the District Muzaffarpur), Uru-Dhammarakkhita from the Ghositārāma in Kosambi, Urusaṅgharakkhita from the Dakkhiṇagiri in Ujjenī (now Ujjain in the Gwalior state), Mittinna from the Asokārāma in Pāṭaliputta (modern Patna), Uttinna from Kasmir, Mahādeva from Pallavabhogga (Persia ?), Yona-Mahā-Dhammarakkhita from Alasandā of the Yona country (probably near Kabul), Uttara from the region of the Vindhyā forest, Cittagutta from Buddhagayā, Candagutta from the Vanavāsa country and Suriyagutta from the Kelāsa-vihāra.

The Mahāvaṃsa gives in detail the objects that were deposited in the relic-chamber of the thūpa. Among them were a golden image of the Buddha, and statues of Māra, Brahmā and many other gods. There were also scenes depicting the Jātakas. The Vessantara Jātaka was depicted fully. Here, the Mahāvaṃsa has, no doubt, followed an older tradition, probably an account in the Porāṇa-Sīhalaṭṭhakathā-Mahāvaṃsa. If we could tell when the tradition originated much light would be thrown on the customs, artistic tastes of the people at that time, the growth of mythology, the association of Hindu gods with the teachings of the Buddha, and many other such problems.

Duṭṭhagāmaṇī did not live long enough to see the completion of this cetiya, his most stupendous work. He is, moreover, said to have built ninety-nine vihāras in all.[3]

Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's reign gave birth to a renaissance in every direction. When he ascended the throne, the country had been in a state of political unrest for nearly three-quarters of a century. The frequent inroads made by the Dravidians of South India upon the island tended in every way to diminish the prosperity of the people. This, both directly and indirectly, compelled the people to withhold themselves from their religious and literary activities. Anurādhapura which was the centre of Buddhist learning and culture, suffered most under the Dravidian invaders. In addition to the disasters wrought by hostile foreigners, Ceylon was visited by a devastating famine. It is not possible to say whether this famine occurred before or after the accession of Gāmaṇī to the throne. The

1 Mv Ch 28
2 Ibid. 30.62 foll.
3 Ibid. 32.26

famine was so severe that during it *akkha* nuts (Terminalia Bellerica), which at other times were used as dice, were eaten, and hence it was called the *akkhakkhāyika* famine.[1] However determined and persevering the bhikkhus may have been, they no doubt had their share of these calamities from within and without. Hence, it should not be a surprise to us if we found that theras at that time went abroad, not content with what they could learn in Ceylon, to prosecute further studies in the Dhamma. The Sammohavinodanī records such an instance where a thera, Punabbasu-kuṭumbikaputta Tissa by name, went to study under Yonaka Dhammarakkhita thera.[2]

The state of affairs evidently changed when Gāmaṇī came to power. His faith in the Buddha, his zeal to propagate the Doctrine, his veneration towards the saṅgha—all these knew no bounds. The Buddha was to him a kinsman, too, whom he affectionately revered and not merely the founder of a faith.[3] Many are the interesting episodes that depict these characteristics of the pious monarch. The Sumangalavilāsinī tells us that after his victory over the Tamils, Duṭṭhagāmaṇī could not sleep for one whole month as a result of his excessive joy. The matter was brought to the notice of the bhikkhus, and, one night, eight theras chanted in the presence of the king the Citta Yamaka of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. This chanting induced sleep and the king on waking up the following morning exclaimed with joy: "There is no remedy which the children of my grandfather (*ayyaka*[4]) do not know. They know even the medicine that induces sleep".[5] Again, having heard that a gift of the Doctrine by preaching was more than a gift of worldly wealth, he made an attempt to preach the Maṅgala Sutta at the Lohapāsāda, but could not do so from reverence for the brotherhood.[6] Fired with this abundance of zeal, he endeavoured to spread the knowledge of Buddhism in the country by helping the preachers in every manner possible.[7] It is also interesting to note incidentally the manner in which he kept an account of his religious activities by recording them in a special book, the *puññapotthaka*.[8] The mention of this fact throws a sidelight, too, on the literary conditions of the period.

This royal munificence produced many a great man in the field of religion. The Mahāvaṃsa and the Pāli Commentaries have preserved for us the names of, and in some cases episodes relating to several such well known theras of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's day.

Among them the two men about whom we have the best information are Dhammadinna thera of Talaṅgaratissa-pabbata in Rohaṇa and Malayadeva thera.

1 Mv Trans. p. 222 note 6
2 SV 389
3 According to the Mahāvaṃsa tradition Duṭṭhagāmaṇī was a direct descendant of the Buddha's paternal uncle Amitodana. *See* Index to the Mahāvaṃsa (p.79) by J. Still, Colombo 1907.
4 This word reminds us of the epithet *pitāmahā* (grandfather) applied frequently to Mahā Brahmā in the Rāmāyana and other Sanskrit works.
5 Sum Vil II 640
6 Mv 32. vv 42, 43
7 Ibid. 32, 44—46 His other activities for the welfare of the sāsana are enumerated in 32. 26 foll.
8 Ibid. 32. 25

Dhammadinna

Dhammadinna was an Arahant and the teacher of a large number of bhikkhus.[1] Many were those who attained Arahantship under his guidance. His fame spread far and wide and the residents at Tissamahārāma, hearing of his greatness, invited him there to give them instructions on the higher life. Dhammadinna went thither, but his greatness was not understood by them. On his way he disillusioned in a very interesting way two theras, one in Haṅkanavihāra and the other in Cittalapabbatavihāra, who were under the false belief that they had attained Arahantship.[2] In a very similar manner Dhammadinna made his teacher Mahānāga thera of Uccātalaṅka understand that the latter, too, had not become an Arahant.[3] He is, moreover, said to have possessed the *iddhi* power of showing hells and heavens to his audiences while he was preaching.[4] He was also one of the five great theras who received the gift, highly valued by Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, of sour millet-gruel during the Akkhakkāyika famine. Dhammadinna is said to have shared this gift with many bhikkhus at Pīyaṅgudīpa. The other four theras were Malayamahādeva, Dhammagutta, Khuddatissa of Maṅgana and Mahāvyaggha.[5]

Malayadeva

The name of Malayadeva is also found as Malayavāsī Mahādeva,[6] Malimahādeva,[7] Maliyadeva,[8] Mahāmaliya of Kālavela,[9] and sometimes simply as Mahādeva[10] or Deva.[11] As is indicated by the epithet Malayavāsī, he was from Malaya, the central mountain-region in the interior of Ceylon.[12] The Manorathapūraṇī gives an account of how he was helped by a devout woman at Kallagāma when he was studying at Maṇḍalārāmaka Mahāvihāra, how he attained Arahantship and how he delivered a discourse at the end of which that woman attained the First Path.[13] We are told that he mastered the three Piṭakas within three years of being a bhikkhu.[14]

As a preacher the thera was exceedingly successful. The Papañcasūdanī tells us that he discoursed on the Chachakka Sutta at the Lohapāsāda and the Mahāmaṇḍapa at Anurādhapura, at Cetiyapabbata, Sākiyavaṃsavihāra, Kuṭālivihāra, Antarasobbha, Mutiṅgana, Vātakapabbata, Pācīnagharaka, Dīghavāpī, Lokandara, Gāmeṇḍavāla and Cittalapabbata ; and at each of these places sixty bhikkhus attained Arahantship.[15] The description given in the Papañcasūdanī as to how he bathed with his own

1 SV 489

2 Pap I 184, 185. A part of the account is given in Man I 42, 43 but with the slight dffierence that Dhammadinna set out, not alone, but a accompanied by bhikkhus (*bhikkhusaṅgha parivuto*). In SV 489 the names of the two theras are given as Haṅkanakavāsī Mahādatta and Niṅkaponnapadhānagharavāsī Cūlasumma. Vi II 634 mentions Cūlasumma as a dweller of Nikapennakapadhānaghara.

3 SV 489

4 Vi II 392

5 Mv 32.49

6 Vi I 241

7 J IV 490

8 Man I 38; Pap Sn 1024

9 J VI 30

10 Man I 39

11 Pap Sn 1025

12 Mv Trans. p. 60 note 4

13 Man I 38, 39

14 Ibid. I 38, 39

15 Pap Sn 1024

hands an aged thera at Cittalapabbata is very touching.[1] Whatever the significance of this number sixty may be, there is little doubt that the thera traversed the length and breadth of Ceylon, preaching the Doctrine wherever he went.

Maliyadeva thera was skilful in suggesting to people the kind of exercise for meditation proper to each. The Visuddhimagga mentions an occasion when he gave an exercise, which appeared very simple on the surface, to two bhikkhus who were well versed in two or three Nikāyas. At the end of the exercise, however, both of them attained the Sotāpatti state.[2]

The name of this thera is mentioned twice in the Jātakaṭṭhakathā as having been one of the last to leave the household life during certain previous existences of the Buddha.[3] On the day of his passing away he is reported to have said that he was the last to enter *parinibbāna* from among the people in the Mūgapakkha Jātaka.[4] A belief prevails in Ceylon, chiefly among the half-educated Buddhists, that Maliyadeva was the last Arahant in Ceylon. As we shall see later the Aṭṭhakathās mention the names of many others who attained Arahantship after his day. The utterance, mentioned above, is evidently the basis of this popular belief.

Dhammagutta

Dhammagutta shared Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's gift of millet-gruel with the bhikkhus at Kalyāṇi vihāra. Both in the Mahāvaṃsa and in the Jātakaṭṭhakathā he is spoken of as one who could cause the earth to quake (*paṭhavicālako*).[5] Dhammagutta is also said to be one of those who left the world last in the above mentioned previous existences of the Buddha.

Khuddatissa

Khuddatissa (small Tissa) of Maṅgana divided his portion of the gift with the bhikkhus in Kolāsavihāra. A Kujjatissa (humpbacked or deformed Tissa) of Maṅgana whose death occurred during the reign of Saddhātissa (Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's brother) is mentioned in the Manorathapūraṇī.[6] From the proximity in both the meaning of the two names and the periods in which they lived, there is no doubt that both names referred to the same individual. He was an Arahant of great repute and loved the life of solitude in his old age. Lest he should be requested by king Saddhātissa to visit the palace, Kujjatissa once resorted to a curious trick to deceive the king. When he heard the king coming to him he sat down drawing figures on the ground. The king was disgusted at the seeming lack of self-composure and went back without even saluting him. The thera thus saved himself from the burden of visiting a noisy town and receiving respect and homage from the royal household.

Mahāvyaggha

Mahāvyaggha, who was the fifth of those who received the millet-gruel, shared it with the bhikkhus iu the Ukkanagara-vihāra. This thera, too, died during the reign of Saddhātissa, shortly after the passing away of Kujjatissa thera.

1 Pap Sn 1025

2 Vi I 241

3 J IV 490; VI 30

4 Ibid. VI 30

5 Mv 32. 53; J IV 490

6 Man II 247

If there is any historical truth behind the last utterance of Maliyadeva thera,[1] the other theras mentioned in the two passages of the Jātakaṭṭhakathā,[2] namely, Mahāvaṃsaka, Phussadeva of Kaṭakandhakāra, Mahā-Saṅgharakkhita[3] of Upari-maṇḍala, Mahādeva[4] of Bhaggiri, Mahāsiva of Vāmanta—or Gāmanta-pabbhāra and Mahānāga of Kālavallimaṇḍapa must have been contemporaneous with or earlier than Maliyadeva.

Mahāvaṃsaka

It is not easy to say whether Mahāvaṃsaka was the name of a different thera or whether it was linked appositionally with some thera's name. The context makes it difficult to take it in the latter sense. Prof. Rhys Davids takes it as a literary epithet used to distinguish Khuddatissa of Maṅgana from the many other Tissas. "This (*i.e.*, Mahāvaṃsa) means" he says, "'the one mentioned in the Mahāvaṃsa'—that is, the old Mahāvaṃsa, in Sinhalese prose with Pāli verses, on which our Pāli Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa are based. A list of the *thera-paramparā* taken from that Mahāvaṃsa is preserved at p. 2 of the Parivāra, and one of the two Tissa Theras mentioned in it is doubtless the man referred to. In any case, he was identical with the Tissa Thera who is mentioned in the Pāli (p. 197 of Turnour's edition) as having lived at Maṅgana, in the highest mountains of Ceylon, about 120 B.C."[5] A good inference indeed. But to me the identity is not so doubtless.

Phussadeva

Phussadeva of Kaṭakandhakāra is mentioned again in the Samantapāsādikā. There it is described how Māra tried but failed in his attempt to destroy the feeling of joy arisen in Phussadeva as a result of contemplation on the Buddha (Buddhārammaṇa-pīti). This joy, it is further said, was obtained as a result of his cleaning and sweeping the compound of a cetiya and became the basis of insight for his attainment of Arahantship.[6] Prof. Rhys Davids identifies this thera with Mahāphussadeva of Ālindaka mentioned in the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī[7] and also with Phussadeva 'the great preacher' whose name occurs in the list of teachers at Parivāra p. 2.[8] The name Ālindakavāsi Mahāphussadeva occurs in several other Commentaries also.[9] The way he attained Arahantship is quite different from that related of Kaṭakandhakāravāsi Phussadeva in the Samantapāsādikā.[10] This identity is therefore clearly not correct. Nor is he the same as the Phussadeva of the Parivāra list. As it will be shown later the last mentioned thera flourished in the first century A.D.

Mahāsaṅgharakkhita

The next is Mahāsaṅgharakkhita of Uparimaṇḍala in Malaya. His name occurs in the Jātakaṭṭhakathā[11] as Uparimaṇḍala-māla-vāsī Mahārakkhita and in the Manorathapūraṇī[12] as Malayavāsī Mahāsaṅgharakkhita. He is

1 J VI 30
2 Ibid. IV 490, VI 30
3 Mahārakkhita J VI 30
4 Mahātissa of Bhaggari J VI 30
5 J. R. A. S. 1901 p. 890
6 Smp Sn II 376
7 Sum Vil I 189
8 J. R. A. S. 1901 pp. 890, 891
9 More details of this thera will be given later.
10 Smp Sn II 376
11 J VI 30
12 Man I 40

described as one who was noted for his unattachment and freedom from anger.[1] He had an excellent pupil in Mahātissabhūti of Maṇḍalārāma,[2] who was a prominent thera at the time when Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya (29—17 B.C.) ascended the throne of Ceylon.[3]

Mahātissa of Bhaggari

We have hardly any information about Bhaggarivāsī Mahātissa.[4] The corresponding name at Jātaka IV 490 is Bhaggirivāsī Mahādeva. As Prof. Rhys Davids has pointed out it is possible that he is one of the Tissas —in my opinion, not the second but the first—mentioned in the Parivāra list.[5]

Mahāsiva of Vāmantapabbhāra

Mahāsiva of Vāmantappabbhāra was also a thera who lived about this time. A Mahāsiva of Gāmantapabbhāra is mentioned in the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī and the Manorathapūraṇī.[6] It is very likely that in one or the other of the words Vāmanta and Gāmanta there is a wrong reading and the same hill (*pabbhāra*) is referred to by both the words. In this case, too, I am unable to agree with Prof. Rhys Davids when he identifies this thera with the Mahāsiva of the Parivāra,[7] the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī[8] and the Atthasālinī.[9] The thera mentioned in these three books and also in some other Commentaries lived in the first century A.D. How Mahāsiva of Gāmantapabbhāra tried for thirty years and succeeded in the becoming an Arahant is described in detail in the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī[10] and in the Manorathapūraṇī.[11]

Mahānāga of Kālavallimaṇḍapa

The last in this group is Mahānāga of Kālavallimaṇḍapa (the Pavilion of the Black Creeper). He became an Arahant after practising meditation for seven years using only the two postures of standing and walking, and again practising the observance called the *gatapaccāgatavatta* for sixteen years.[12] It is said that one day he gave his own share of food to an Arahant bhikkhuṇī and as a result of that never had any difficulty in obtaining his meals. The incident is said to have taken place in the village Nakulanagara near Guttasālagāma (in Rohaṇa).[13]

In addition to the theras mentioned above, the names of the following also of the same period occur in the Mahāvaṃsa and in the Commentaries.

Theraputtābhaya—at first a warrior who took part in the war of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī with the Tamils.[14] When the war was over he joined the Order and became an Arahant.[15] We see him for the last time sitting by the side of the king and offering him words of consolation as the latter lay in his death-bed.[16]

1 Att 268
2 Man I 39, 40; Pap I 66
3 SV 448
4 J VI 30
5 J. R. A. S. 1901 p. 892
6 Sum Vil III 727; Man I 40
7 Parivāra p. 3
8 Sum Vil I 202, 203
9 Att 220. Also *see* J. R. A. S. 1901 p. 892
10 Sum Vil III 727
11 Man I 40, 41
12 ApA 121; SV 352; Pj II 56; SA Sn III 155; Sum Vil I 190.
13 Att 399
14 Mv 23.55—63 and 32.12
15 Ibid. 26. 2—5
16 Ibid. 32.18 foll.

Sudhamma Sāmaṇera—a nephew of the famous Talaṅgaravāsī Dhammadinna. He is reported to have possessed a marvellous memory and to have learned the whole of the three Piṭakas by listening to the Doctrine as expounded by his uncle.[1]

Mahātissa of Rohaṇa—another thera who was under the self-deception that he was an Arahant but was disillusioned by Talaṅgaravāsī Dhammadinna.[2]

Mahātissa of Maṇḍalārāma—a reciter of the Dhammapada.[3]

Mahāsiva of Bhātivaṅka,[4]

Tissa[5] *of Koṭipabbatavihāra* (or Koṭapabbata)

Anula[6] ,,

Mahāsumma[7] ,,

Soṇuttara—who was entrusted with the duty of bringing relics for the Mahāthūpa,[8] and the

Sāmaṇeras Uttara and Sumana—who were requested to bring special stones to make the relic-chamber in the above mentioned cetiya.[9]

A few words should also be said about the state of the bhikkhuṇī-sāsana at this period.

Bhikkhuṇīs

According to the Dīpavaṃsa five well known bhikkhuṇīs Mahilā, Samantā, Girikālī, Dāsī, and Kālī came from Rohaṇa with a retinue of twenty thousand bhikkhuṇīs and taught the Vinaya at Anurādhapura. Among these Mahilā and Samantā were daughters of king Kākavaṇṇatissa and, therefore sisters (or half-sisters) of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī; Girikālī was the daughter of Kākavaṇṇa's *purohita* (chaplain), and the other two, though themselves self-restrained nuns, were daughters of a man of bad repute.[10] The Mahāvaṃsa tells us that ninety thousand bhikkhuṇīs were gathered together at the festival of the consecration of the Maricavaṭṭi Vihara.[11] When the thera Piyadassi preached the Doctrine on the occasion of the beginning of the construction of the Mahācetiya, the multitude who attained Arahantship included fourteen thousand bhikkhunīs.[12] Whatever these 'thousands' meant there is hardly any doubt that the bhikkhuṇī-sāsana was in a flourishing state at the period under our discussion.

Rendered majestic by the limitless beneficence of the most powerful monarch Ceylon ever saw and resplendent with the brilliance of these theras and therīs, learned and of stainless purity of character, this period stands out unique in the history of Buddhism in Ceylon.

1 SV 389
2 Man I 42
3 DhA IV 51
4 Mv 30.46
5 Puggala Paññatti Commentary in J. P. T. S. 1914 p. 186; Vi I 292
6 DhA IV 50
7 Mv 23.60
8 Ibid. 31.4
9 Ibid. 30.37
10 Dīp 18.20—23
11 Mv 26.15
12 Ibid. 19.69

Saddhātissa (77—59 B.C.)

Duṭṭhagāmaṇī was succeeded by his brother Saddhātissa (Tissa the Devoted). His was a reign of uninterrupted peace and prosperity. He did not have the burden of fighting with enemies from abroad and putting his house in order. As we saw in the foregoing pages all that had been done by his brother; and the country being already in a state of prosperity, he could devote his entire time to religious pursuits.

His faith and devotion knew no bounds. Buddhaghosa describes how for one full night the king stood listening, with rapt attention, to a discourse delivered by Kāla-Buddharakkhita thera.[1] No less was the sincerity with which he observed the tenets of Buddhism. For three long years he suppressed a strong desire to eat snipe-flesh (*tittira-maṃsa*), fearing that many of these birds would be killed if he let his desire be known. At last a man, Tissa by name, was found who would not kill a living being even at the risk of his own life. The king then requested him to bring *tittira* flesh that was kept for sale and not killed specially for him.[2] When the dish was at last ready he offered a portion of it to a sāmaṇera at Tatthakasāla Parivena, and, it is said, that he was greatly delighted at the self-restrained behaviour of the sāmaṇera.[3]

Perhaps spoilt by the excessive generosity of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, the bhikkhus at Anurādhapura seem to have had grown lax in discipline, especially with regard to their personal requisites. Saddhātissa ceased giving alms to them and daily showered his gifts of requisites on the bhikkhus at Cetiyapabbata. When questioned by the people as to the reason for concentrating his generosity on Cetiyapabbata alone, he gave meals on the following day to the bhikkhus at Anurādhapura and justified his attitude by pointing out to the people the unsatisfactory manner in which the bhikkhus behaved in accepting the food.[4]

Another incident which shows lack of self-control on the part of a young bhikkhu is recorded in the Manorathapūraṇī. Saddhātissa was one day going to the vihāra in the company of the ladies of his royal household. A young bhikkhu, standing at the gate of the Lohapāsāda, looked at one of them and was instantly consumed with passion for her. Reciprocal feelings arose in the woman, too, and, we are told, both died as a result of that excessive lust.[5]

It would, however, be quite incorrect to suppose that the whole brotherhood of bhikkhus of Saddhātissa's day was guilty of such laxity in discipline. It is not possible to think that the spiritual heights attained by many a thera in the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī could have been lost to the country in so short a time. We have evidence that great theras such as Kujjatissa and Mahāvyaggha survived Duṭṭhagāmaṇī,[6] and there probably were many others of the same group, though we have no records left of them.

One of the most illustrious theras who flourished during the reign of Saddhātissa was Kāla-Buddharakkhita. He was the son of a minister (perhaps of king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī), and entering the Order in due course

1 Pap II 294
2 Man II 30; SA Sn III 49
3 Ibid. II 30
4 SV 473
5 Man I 23
6 Ibid. II 247

became proficient in the teachings of the Buddha. He became an Arahant while at Vātakasitapabbata and lived at the Cetiyapabbata Vihāra as the head of a vast number of bhikkhus.[1] Reference has already been made to a discourse delivered by this thera and listened to with rapt attention by the king.[2]

Saddhātissa reigned for eighteen years and during this period many vihāras such as those at Dakkhiṇagiri, Kallakālana, Kalambaka, Pettaṅgavālika, Velaṅgaviṭṭhika, Dubbalavāpitissa, Dāratissakavāpi and the Mātuvihāra were built by him. He is also said to have built vihāras from Anurādhapura to Dīghavāpi, one for every yojana (of the way). During this reign the nine-storeyed Lohapāsāda caught fire from a lamp and Saddhātissa built it anew, seven storeys high.[3]

Saddhātissa suffered the disadvantages of coming immediately after—or rather we suffer in a true evaluation of his merits by contrasting him with—a much greater ruler, Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. Nevertheless, Tissa was a powerful monarch indeed, and contributed much to the welfare of the sāsana.

The spread of Buddhism in Ceylon was complete in the reign of Tissa; perhaps it had already seen completion before the death of Gāmaṇī. One may, without much fear of contradiction, say that it is in the time of these two brothers that the island of Laṅkā witnessed the zenith of Buddhist glory.

Before concluding this chapter it may be useful to note how the centre of Buddhist activities moved from time to time during the two centuries that we have so far reviewed. Though Mahinda arrived at Cetiyapabbata and the conversion of Devānampiyatissa took place there, Anurādhapura soon became the stronghold of the faith and remained so for nearly three-quarters of a century up to the defeat of Sūratissa by the Tamil invaders (c.177 B.C.). The scene now changes. Anurādhapura is gradually abandoned by the saṅgha and Rohaṇa becomes the new centre. Cetiyapabbata retains some of its strength, as it, being a mountain at some distance from the town, afforded no material attractions to the invaders. The defeat of Eḷāra by Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (101 B.C.) changes the scene again and Anurādhapura once more become the headquarters of the sāsana. Lastly during the reign of Saddhātissa—and this time not due to political disturbances—Anurādhapura loses its grandeur and is eclipsed by Cetiyapabbata.

1 Pap II 293 foll.
2 Ibid. 294
3 Mv 33.6 foll.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Writing down of the Texts

Thūlathana 59 B.C.

The prosperity that Ceylon enjoyed under the reigns of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and Saddhātissa was destined not to last long. After the death of the latter his second son Thūlathana was anointed king according to the decision of Saddhātissa's counsellors and of the monks in the Thūpārāma.[1] Evidently Thūlathana was more favourably disposed towards the bhikkhus, but this intervention in political matters brought with it serious consequences on the saṅgha. Only for one month and ten days had Thūlathana been king when Lañjatissa, the elder son of Saddhātissa, hurried to Anurādhapura, overpowered his brother and took over the reins of government.[2]

Lañjatissa (59—50 B.C.)

Lañjatissa, being the elder, was the lawful heir to the throne, and in their choice the bhikkhus were clearly wrong from a conventional point of view, however right they may have been in choosing the better man. Now that Lañjatissa was in power he avenged the injustice done to him and for three years he kept either slighting or neglecting the bhikkhus. Later he changed his mind and was reconciled with them. Thereafter he built many vihāras, and showered upon the monks gifts of food and raiment. The comfort of the bhikkhunīs, too, was well looked after.[3]

Khallāṭanāga (50—43 B.C.): Vaṭṭagāmaṇī (43 B.C.): The Brāhmaṇatissa Peril:

Lañjatissa was succeeded by his younger brother Khallāṭanāga. After he had been king for six years, he was overpowered by a rebel of the name Kammahārattaka, who, in turn, was almost immediately slain by Khallāṭanāga's younger brother Vaṭṭagāmaṇī. The latter had ruled for scarcely five months when a young brāhmaṇa, named Tissa, in Rohaṇa raised a revolt. Simultaneously with this uprising seven Tamils came with their troops from South India. The Mahāvaṃsa dismisses the rebellion of Brāhmaṇatissa without giving any details of its consequences on the country.[4] The Commentaries, however, have preserved for us many valuable episodes which give an insight not only into the political and social unrest created, but also to the repercussions it had caused in the sāsana, and into the reason which led to that most momentous event in the history of Theravāda Buddhism, namely, the writing down of the Buddhist Canonical Texts.

Tissa was a very powerful brāhmaṇa, so powerful that Vaṭṭagāmaṇī, at least for the time being, dared not meet him in open battle.[5] The Sammohavinodanī tells us: "The rebel Brāhmaṇatissa plundered the district. The monks discussed in council and sent eight theras to Sakka requesting him

1 Mv 33. vv. 17, 18. It is interesting to note that the bhikkhus responsible for this selection were those in the Thūpārāma and not in the Mahāvihāra as one would have expected.
2 Ibid. 33.19
3 Ibid. 33.21—28
4 Ibid. 33.37—41
5 Ibid. 33.37 foll.

to ward off the rebel. Sakka, the king of the devas, replied : 'Sirs, it is not possible to ward off the rebel that has arisen. May you go abroad. I shall protect you (while) on the sea."[1] Behind this curious story lies hidden the historical truth of the tremendous power wielded by Tissa. The hatred with which Tissa was looked upon is well illustrated by the epithet *Caṇḍāla*[2] sometimes added to his name.[3] What great dishonour could there be to a brāhmaṇa than to be called a caṇḍāla !

In addition to the ruin wrought by the rebel, nature too became an adversary of the country. For twelve years there was a severe famine which has no parallel in the history of the island.[4] The monasteries in Anurādhapura were abandoned and the bhikkhus made their way either to India or to the hilly districts of Ceylon. It would not be out of place to give here a brief summary of the episodes treasured for us in the Commentaries.

According to the Sammohavinodanī, bhikkhus from all quarters assembled at Jambukola-paṭṭana in Nāgadīpa[5] to cross over to India. The three theras Saṃyuttabhāṇaka Cūlasiva, Isidatta and Mahāsena were at the head of the monks assembled there. Knowing the competency of Mahāsena to protect the sāsana at a future date, the other two theras advised him to go abroad and return after the peril was over. As Cūlasiva and Isidatta had decided not to cross over, Mahāsena too stayed behind. Cūlasiva requested Isidatta to protect Mahāsena with very great care, and himself went to pay his veneration to the Mahācetiya. At that time the Mahāvihāra was empty, castor plants had grown on the courtyard of the Mahācetiya. All around it were bushes and the cetiya itself was covered with moss. Thence he went to a place near the Jaggara river where the people were living on leaves. The thera lived there till better times came.[6] The name of this thera occurs again in the Visuddhimagga where he is mentioned as an example of one on whom poison had no effect because he practised universal love.[7]

Isidatta and Mahāsena, too, had a very trying time. While travelling about the country they came to the district of Aḷa (Aḷajanapada).[8] In one place there the people had taken the kernels from some *madhu* fruits and left behind on the ground the outer coverings, which the theras picked up and ate. That was the only food they had for a whole week. On another occasion they lived on the stalks of the water lily and later on the bark of the banana.[9]

The account of Vattabbaka Nigrodha and of his aged preceptor is still more pathetic. They travelled from place to place living on most scanty

1 SV. 445, 446
2 A man of one of the lowest castes.
3 Man I 92
4 SA II 111
5 The north-western part of Ceylon. *See* Mv Translation p. 6 note 2.
6 SV 446, 447
7 Vi I 313
8 The Samantapāsādikā mentions that the Aḷandanāgarājamahesī renewed the gift of an aqueduct which was abandoned by the monks of Cittalapabbata, a well known monastery in Rohaṇa (Smp III 680). The word Aḷandanāgarājamahesī, in my opinion, means 'the consort of the Nāga king, the chief of Aḷa (Aḷa+inda = Aḷanda).' If this interpretation is correct, Aḷajanapada was a district in Rohaṇa, and its population consisted predominantly of people of the Nāga race.
9 SV 447, 448

food. The famine had, by that time, grown so acute that people ate even human flesh. The aged thera fell a prey to some such people maddened by hunger. Nigrodha, however, made good his escape and, after the famine was over, learned the three Piṭakas and became a well known thera.[1]

Numberless people, both from the monkhood and from the laity, died of starvation. The Sammohavinodanī tells us that both at Tissamahārāma and at Cittalapabbatavihāra there was at that time sufficient grain for three years and all of it was eaten by rats. Twelve thousand Arahants from each of these vihāras set out to the other vihāra, but they met midway and hearing the same news from each other, entered a forest and passed away, knowing that it was useless to return to their monasteries.[2] Whatever significance there may be in these numbers and in the description of the almost miraculous incidents connected with the episode, there is no doubt that a very large number of bhikkhus died for want of food.

An instance is recorded in the Manorathapūraṇī[3] of a therī, Nāgā by name, who was left behind with some other young bhikkhuṇīs in the village Bhātaragāma, when the inhabitants abandoned it in search of a less miserable place. The inhabitants did not inform the therī of their departure because they were no longer able to support her fellow bhikkhuṇīs, and also perhaps because they did not have the heart to express their inability to support her at such a disastrous time as that.

Other theras who are mentioned as having lived about this time are Tissabhūti of Maṇḍalārāma, Sumanadeva of Gāma, Phussadeva and Upatissa.

Tissabhūti

Tissabhūti lived at Maṇḍalārāma in Kālakagāma. An interesting account of how he destroyed his impure thoughts is given in the Manorathapūraṇī. One day, when he was yet a student, he was going through a village on his begging round. There he saw a certain woman and immediately impure thoughts entered his mind. He returned to the vihāra, informed his teacher Malayavāsi Mahāsangharakkhita thera of the incident and obtained a suitable meditation from him. He was determined to destroy his impure thoughts or, failing it, to put an end to his own life. With this determination in his mind he made obeisance again and again to his teacher before he took leave of him. The teacher inquired why he did so, and Tissabhūti replied : "Good it is if I shall be successful in my attempt. If, however, I fail, this shall be my last salutation to you." Tissabhūti retired to a solitary spot, and, engaged in strenuous meditation, extirpated all lustful thoughts and became an Arahant.[4] A short time after the Brāhmaṇatissa famine was over, the people in Kālakagāma arranged an almsgiving on a magnificent scale. The Sammohavinodanī tells us that, on that occasion, Tissabhūti thera was given the principal seat.[5]

1 SV 449, 450
2 SV 445
3 Man Sn 670, 671
4 Man I 39, 40. The Papañcasūdanī (I 66) gives a slightly different version, according to which, Tissabhūti controlled his thoughts as soon as the impurity entered his mind; but at night, during sleep, he saw the same object in a dream. Then he received advice from his teacher and put an end to his sense desires.
5 SV 448

The Atthasālinī has another reference to this thera. One day he was explaining that the place of the Great Enlightenment was the *nidāna* (the place of origin) of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. The thera Sumanadeva of Gāma, while preaching the Doctrine at the base of the Brazen Palace, heard this and called him a heretic (*paravādī*) who did not know the *nidāna* of the Abhidhamma. He then proceeded to give the *true* version of how the Buddha preached the Abhidhamma at the foot of the Pāricchattaka tree in Tāvatiṃsa, a world of the devas.[1]

Phussadeva and Upatissa, pupils of the same teacher, were proficient in the Vinaya. During the Brāhmaṇatissa famine they protected the Vinaya Piṭaka.[2] More about these theras will be said in the next chapter.

It should be remembered that at this time the teachings of the Buddha were, as mentioned before, handed down orally from teacher to pupil. Thus there remained always at this time the danger of some parts of the teachings being lost as the result of the death of those who had memorised them and of the inability of many, weakened by starvation, to proceed with their studies. Nor was there any guarantee of the returning of those bhikkhus who went abroad as none could guess when the famine would end. Seeing this grave danger, those who knew the books by heart took all precautions not to allow the Texts to fall into oblivion. Sixty bhikkhus who had even gone so far as the coast to cross over to India returned to the southern Malaya district and lived there eating only roots and leaves. They never failed to recite the Texts lest they should forget them. When they had sufficient strength to sit down they recited the Texts, keeping themselves in that posture, and, when they could no longer keep their bodies erect, they laid their heads on mounds of sand and continued their recitations. In this wise they preserved in full for twelve years the Texts as well as the Commentaries.[3] One book, however, was on the verge of being lost to the world. And that was the Mahāniddesa of the Sutta Piṭaka. Only one bhikkhu could recite it. Mahātipiṭaka thera, the preceptor of Catunikāyika Tissa[4], requested a bhikkhu named Mahārakkhita, who had great powers of memory, to learn the Mahāniddesa ; but the latter refused to do so on the ground that the person who knew it was known to be a man of impure life. Mahārakkhita was at last persuaded and, learning it day and night, he completed the task. The person from whom Mahārakkhita learned the Text was afterwards proved to be a very immoral bhikkhu ; yet the book was thus saved from being lost for ever. Many other theras in turn, learned the Text from Mahārakkhita.[5]

Vaṭṭagāmaṇī (29—17 B.C.)

After twelve long years of endless suffering and misery the famine came to an end. The rebel Brāhmaṇatissa died and Vaṭṭagāmaṇī ascended the throne again.[6] Such is the account given in the Commentaries. They are silent on the invasion of the seven Tamils recorded in the Mahāvaṃsa.

1 Att 30, 31. Also *see* The Expositor I 38, 39
2 Smp I 263
3 Man I 92
4 An account of Catunikāyika Tissa of Kolita vihāra and of his brother Dattābhaya of Potaliya vihāra is given in the Manorathapūraṇī (II 173). Perhaps these two Catunikāyika Tissas were identical.
5 Smp III 695
6 SV 448

According to this Chronicle the rebel Tissa was slain by the Tamil invaders. One of these returned to South India taking with him Somādevī, one of the queens of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī. Another took the Buddha's alms-bowl and returned home straightway well contented. When Vaṭṭagāmaṇī fled the other five reigned successively, each of the last four slaying his predecessor and taking possession of the throne for himself. The last was overthrown by Vaṭṭagāmaṇī, who then brought the whole country under his sway.[1]

Things took a better turn with the coming into power of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya.[2] Hearing that the peril was over and that the country was prosperous, the bhikkhus who had gone to India returned. How they, on their return sought out Mahāsena thera and Vattabbaka Nigrodha, mentioned before, is described in the Sammohavinodanī.[3] The sixty bhikkhus who had retreated to the southern Malaya district and had sought to preserve the Texts by reciting them, if necessary, even at the cost of their own lives, heard of the return of the bhikkhus from India and went in search of them to compare the Texts as the former remembered them. It is said that the versions of the two parties agreed word for word.[4]

The Dīpavaṃsa tells us that after the (Brāhmaṇatissa) peril had disappeared (*apagate bhaye*), the bhikkhunīs Mahāsenā, Dattā, Sīvalā, Nāgā, Nāgamittā, Dhammaguttā, Dāsiyā, Samuddā, Sapattā, Channā, Upālī, Revatā, Mālā, Khemā and Tissā were the first to teach the Vinaya in Ceylon. Then at the request of king (Vaṭṭagāmaṇī) Abhaya came Sīvalā and Mahāruhā with a large number of bhikkhunīs from India. These, too, taught the Vinaya Piṭaka at Anurādhapura. From them the following bhikkhunīs received the *upasampadā* ordination : Samuddanāvā, Devī and Sīvalā (who were daughters of the king), Nāgamittā, Mahilā and (a second) Nāgamittā.[5]

Signs of Decadence

It is evident from the description given above of the conditions of the country at the time that, in spite of the existence of a number of faithful bhikkhus whose self-sacrificing efforts saved the Pāli Texts from being for ever lost, the state of Buddhism had fallen from the heights it occupied in the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and Saddhātissa. The causes that led to such a state of affairs are not all clear to us from the evidence available. One of the chief reasons, no doubt, was the decadence of the power of the Sinhalese kings who were always the greatest benefactors of the sāsana. Another reason was very likely the entering into the order of monks of people who, however intelligent and learned they might have been, were seekers after comfort and worldly pleasure. Such a man, indeed, was the thera who alone knew the Mahāniddesa. The faith of the people was so great that as long as there were any provisions available in the country the sustenance of a bhikkhu remained assured. This, needless to say, must have had drawn many undesirables into the Order.

This period witnessed a change in the attitude of the monks towards 'living the life'. Perhaps because it was easier to be a learned man than to be a saint, or perhaps the difficulty, and therefore all the more the necessity, of

1 Mv 33. 54—61
2 He is also called Piturājā (Father King) as he placed himself in the position of father to his brother's son, prince Mahācūlika Mv 33.36
3 SV 448, 451
4 Man I 92
5 Dīp 18. 27—35

preserving the Texts was becoming more and more evident, the bhikkhus tended to think that *pariyatti* (learning) was of greater importance than *paṭipatti* (living the life). The Manorathapūraṇī tells us that a discussion arose among the bhikkhus who returned from abroad after the famine, "whether *pariyatti* was the root of the sāsana or whether it was *paṭipatti* (*pariyatti nu kho sāsanassa mūlaṃ udāhu paṭipatti*)". After arguments had been adduced on both sides the *dhammakathikas*[1] gained victory over the *paṃsukūlikas*.[2] Practice was relegated to the background and preaching gained supremacy. The Sutta defeated the Vinaya.[3] How different this was from the older attitude! "*Vinayo nāma Buddhasāsanassa āyu*" (Vinaya is the very life of the religion of the Buddha) cried out in bold terms the theras of old.[4] This change in attitude, though no attention has been paid to it in the Commentaries, is of the utmost importance in the history of Theravāda Buddhism. This school of Buddhism claims its descent from Upāli,[5] the greatest Vinayadhara among the disciples of the Buddha.[6] Mahinda, too, the founder of this school in Ceylon, insisted on the reciting of the Vinaya by a Ceylonese bhikkhu as it was only then, he maintained, that the sāsana would take root in Ceylon.[7] Mahinda's Buddhism was a religion predominantly of practice, and the victory, mentioned above, of Suttanta over Vinaya, would not have been one after the heart of that great missionary. For this reason—and for other reasons, too, to be mentioned presently—the period of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya opens a new era in the history of Buddhism in Ceylon.

Abhayagiri-vihāra

During the fourteen years of his flight and life in disguise through fear of the Tamils, Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya was helped considerably by the two theras Mahātissa of Kupikkalavihāra and Tissa of Hambugallakavihāra.[8] When Vaṭṭagāmaṇī defeated the Tamils and regained the throne, he abolished the monastery of Giri, a Jain ascetic, and built on its place the Abhayagirivihāra. As a token of his gratitude the king gave this vihāra to the thera Mahātissa.[9] This vihāra, which was to play a large part in the subsequent history of Buddhism in the island, was built, as may be inferred from the Mahāvaṃsa, in the year 29 B.C.[10] Several other vihāras, too, built by the ministers of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī were given to the thera Tissa.[11]

The first Schism

Shortly afterwards occurred another event which brought with it results of a very serious nature. Mahātissa, upon whom the king bestowed the Abhayagirivihāra, was expelled by the brotherhood of the Mahāvihāra on the ground that the former had frequented the families of laymen. His pupil, the thera known as Bahalamassu Tissa, went in anger to the Abhayagiri-vihāra and abode there forming a separate faction. Thence forward these

1 Preachers of the Doctrine.
2 Observers of the ascetic practice called *paṃsukūlikaṅga*. The term is however used in a wider sense and denotes observers of the Vinaya in general.
3 Man I 92, 93.
4 Smp I 13.
5 Ibid. I 62.
6 A I 25.
7 Smp I 102.
8 Mv 33. vv. 49, 71, 75.
9 Ibid. 33.80—83. More about this vihāra will be given later.
10 Ibid. 33.80.
11 Ibid. 33.91.

bhikkhus came no more to the Mahāvihāra.[1] This was the first schism that occurred in the saṅgha of Ceylon. Though the Abhayagiri now became separated from the Mahāvihāra, it did not become a centre of heretical teachings till sometime later.[2] The expulsion of Mahātissa thera must have had caused great displeasure in the heart of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī. The Mahāvaṃsa does not mention any favour bestowed by the king on the Mahāvihāra, whereas it makes clear the attention paid by him to the Abhayagiri.[3]

The committing of the Texts to writing

At this time the bhikkhus of the Mahāvihāra thought it expedient to commit to writing the teachings of the Buddha which were preserved till then by word of mouth. The Mahāvamsa has only a brief reference to it.[4] It gives neither the name of the place where it was done nor that of the person whose patronage rendered it possible for the work to be completed. But from other sources we learn that 500 monks assembled at Alu-vihāra (Āloka-vihāra) and receiving the help of a certain chieftain performed this memorable task.[5]

The causes that led to this writing down of the Texts may be summarized as follows:

(1) The island was in constant danger of being attacked by non-Buddhist foreigners and whenever they were successful, that period proved to be a very dark one for Buddhism. Wars and other forms of political unrest necessitated the abandoning of the chief centres of learning such as the Mahāvihāra. This, it is easy to imagine, often resulted in the separation of the pupils from the teachers—the living books.

(2) The Brāhmaṇatissa famine, too, made the bhikkhus think of the dangers of leaving the Texts to oral tradition. We have already seen with what great difficulty the Texts were preserved during that troublous period.

(3) As time went on, irresponsible and irreligious people entered the Order, and, no doubt, the enthusiasm to hand down the Texts in their purity waned. The Mahāvaṃsa gives this as the direct cause.[6]

(4) The last, but not the least, was the formation of a school at Abhayagiri, separate from the Mahāvihāra, and the king's partiality to this new school in preference to the Mahāvihāra fraternity. This is made evident by the fact that the bhikkhus decided to write the Texts at the Āloka-vihāra, a place in the vicinity of Matale in the Central Province and remote from Anurādhapura, the capital of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya. Moreover the fact that the person who helped in the work was a chieftain instead of the king as one would have expected it to be, probably points to our former inference, namely, that the king was not favourably disposed towards the bhikkhus in the Mahāvihāra.

Whatever may have been the cause or causes that incited the bhikkhus to this task, the event decided the future not only of the Theravāda School of Buddhism but also of the whole field of Pāli Literature.

There is prevalent in Ceylon a tradition that the three Piṭakas were recorded on sheets of gold and were deposited in a rock at the Āloka-vihāra. Perhaps this tradition is not without foundation and could the records be discovered on excavation, their value would indeed be unspeakable.

1 Ibid. 33.95 foll.
2 Mv 33.99.
3 Nikāyasaṅgraha pp. 10—11. Also *see* P.L.C. 43.
4 *See* Chapter on "Growth of Dissentient Schools."
5 Mv 33.100—101.
6 Mv 33.101.

CHAPTER FIVE

The First Literary Period

Mahācūḷi Mahātissa 17—3 B.C.

Vaṭṭagāmaṇī was succeeded by his nephew Mahācūḷi Mahātissa, who was noted for his piety and for his devotion to the thera Mahāsumma.[1] Besides his pious activities mentioned in the Mahāvaṃsa, he is also recorded in the Karambā-hīnna Cave-inscription to have been the donor of a cave at Riṭigala to the Buddhist monkhood.[2] The Bhikkhuṇī-sāsana, too, seems to have been in a flourishing condition at this time.[3]

Towards the latter part of his reign the peace of the country was disturbed by his cousin Coranāga (Nāga, the rebel). The disturbance created by him was fraught with evil for the saṅgha, for Coranāga, when he became king after the death of Mahācūḷi, continued to harass the bhikkhus from whom he received no refuge during his rebellion.[4] For a quarter of a century and especially under Anulā, Coranāga's infamous consort, Ceylon witnessed another spell of gloom in the sphere of her public life.

Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa 16—38 A.D.

This gloom was dispelled by the rising into power of Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa, the second son of Mahācūḷi Mahātissa. The Mahāvaṃsa does not give much information about the state of Buddhism during the half-century from the time of Mahācūḷi to that of Kuṭakaṇṇa, but the Pāli Commentaries have preserved for us a wealth of detail of inestimable value. During the whole of the early history of Buddhism in Ceylon we have, perhaps, only one other period about which we have more information than of this ; and that period is the reign of Dutthagāmaṇī. The information available in the Commentaries is not to be had in any connected form, but, with careful comparison and linking up of the references and episodes given here and there, it is possible to make a fair reconstruction of the state of the religion at that time. The names of more than twenty theras can be assigned to this period, most of whom can be identified with those mentioned in the Parivāra and the Samantapāsādikā lists of teachers.[5] We shall make here a brief survey of the commentarial literature on these theras.

Upatissa and Phussadeva

Perhaps the two earliest theras belonging to the group under discussion are Upatissa and Phussadeva. The Parivāra list adds the epithet *Medhāvī* (the wise) to Upatissa and *Mahākathī* (the great preacher) to Phussadeva.[6] Both of them were Vinayadharas and were pupils of the same teacher (*samānācariyakā*). During the great Peril (*i.e.* the Brāhmaṇatissa famine) they protected the Vinaya Piṭaka. Upatissa was the cleverer of the two,

1 Mv 34.2, 3.
2 Ep. Zey. I 146.
3 Mv 34.6, 7.
4 Ibid. 34.13.
5 Par. pp. 2, 3. Smp I 62, 63.
6 Ibid. p. 3.

and he had two well known pupils, Mahāpaduma and Mahāsumma.[1] The latter studied the Vinaya Piṭaka nine times. Mahāpaduma studied it nine times with him and another nine times alone. He was thus better versed in the Vinaya than his fellow pupil. Mahāsumma, after thus studying the Vinaya Piṭaka nine times, left his teacher and went to reside on the other side of the river Mahawäligaṅga. Mahāpaduma expressed his disapproval of this departure, saying that as long as one's teacher was living, one should stay with him studying many times the Vinaya Piṭaka as well as the Commentaries.[2] Differences of opinion between the two theras Upatissa and Phussadeva[3] and also among the four[4]—these two and Upatissa's pupils Mahāsumma and Mahāpaduma—as to the interpretation of certain Vinaya rules are mentioned in the Samantapāsādikā. An interpretation given by Phussadeva was rejected by his pupils on the ground that their teacher was not learned in the Abhidhamma, and, therefore, had no knowledge of the planes of existence (*ācariyo na ābhidhammiko, bhummantaraṃ na jānāti*).[5]

Mahāpaduma and Mahāsumma

There is hardly any doubt that the thera Mahāpaduma (the Great Lotus) was identical with the Pupphanāma (the Flower-named) of the Parivāra list.[6] In the Samantapāsādikā we find Buddhaghosa paying great respect to the views of this thera as well as to those of Mahāsumma. There are instances where Mahāpaduma's expositions are considered to be as authoritative as those given in the Mahāpaccarī, Kurundī and Mahā-Aṭṭakathās.[7] In the Commentaries we often find quoted as authorities Ācariyavādas, views of teachers, and we have reason to suppose that Mahāpaduma was included among those teachers.[8]

Though Mahāsumma did not have the same proficiency in the Vinaya as Mahāpaduma, his views were considered by Buddhaghosa as authoritative as those of the latter. Different views and interpretations of the Vinaya as put forward by these two theras occur very frequently in the Samantapāsādikā.[9] According to the Mahāvaṃsa, Mahāsumma was highly respected by king Mahācūḷi Mahātissa.[10]

Anuruddha

A thera named Anuruddha is mentioned as the preceptor of Mahāsumma.[11]

1 Called also Mahāsumana.
2 Smp I 263, 264.
3 *See* Smp II 456, III 633, 685.
4 *See* Smp III 651, 714, 715.
5 Smp II 495.
6 The Smp list (I 63) has Phussanāma, but the alternate reading Pupphanāma given in the footnote appears to be the correct one.
7 Smp I 283, III 644.
8 Ibid. I 283.
9 *See* e.g., Smp II 368; ,, ,, 387; ,, ,, 477; ,, III 535; ,, ,, 538; ,, ,, 556; ,, ,, 596; ,, ,, 609; Smp III; ,, ,, 719; ,, Sn II 54; ,, ,, 59; ,, ,, 282; ,, ,, 287; ,, ,, 289; ,, ,, 315
10 Mv 34.3.
11 Smp III 698.

Mahātissa of Puṇṇavallika

The thera Mahātissa of Puṇṇavallika is described as a reciter of the two Vibhaṅgas (Ubhatovibhaṅga-bhāṇaka). According to the Samantapāsādikā we feel inclined to think that he was a contemporary of Mahāpaduma thera.[1] The Atthasālinī and the Visuddhimagga state that as a result of the thrill of joy (*ubbega-pīti*) obtained by contemplation on the Buddha, he was able to transport himself through the air to the Mahācetiya.[2] The reference made by Buddhaghosa to a view held by this thera leads us to infer that he was probably a dweller in the forest (*araññavāsī or vanavāsī*).[3] If this inference is correct he was very likely identical with the Vanavāsī Mahātissa who attained Arahantship after practising the *gatapaccāgatavatta* for nineteen years, and was also a contemporary of Mahāphussadeva thera of Ālindaka.[4]

Godha and Karavīka Tissa

The theras Godha[5] and Karavīka Tissa[6] also appear to be contemporaneous with Mahāpaduma and Mahāsumma. We do not have much information about either of these theras. A view of Karavīka Tissa on a point in the Vinaya is recorded in the Samantapāsādikā,[7] and he is called the *Vinayadhara-pāmokkha* (the foremost among the Vinayadharas.)[8] He may probably be identical with the second Tissa of the Parivāra list who is described with the epithets *Medhāvī* (wise) and *Vinaye visārado* (proficient in the Vinaya).[9] He was also a contemporary of Mahāsiva thera.[10]

Mahāsiva

According to the information available in the Pāli Commentaries it appears that there were two Mahāsiva theras, one versed in the three Piṭakas and the other devoted to the Vinaya. The mention of two such Sivas in the Parivāra list,[11] too, lends support to this same view. The references in the Samantapāsādikā are very likely to this thera.[12] Tipiṭaka Mahāsiva thera (sometimes called also Mahāsivatthera—without the epithet Tipiṭaka) is held in high esteem by Buddhaghosa and is quoted many times in the Commentaries.[13] He is also sometimes called Dīghabhāṇaka Mahāsiva[14] or Tipiṭaka Dīghabhāṇaka Mahāsiva.[15] On one occasion, however, Buddhaghosa prefers the Aṭṭhakathā view to that of Mahāsiva.[16]

1 Ibid. 644.
2 Att 116, Vi I 143.
3 Smp III 644.
4 SV 352, Pj II 56, Pap I 258, SA Sn III 154.
5 Smp III 588.
6 Ibid. 646, 647.
7 Smp Sn II 208.
8 Ibid. 237.
9 Par. p. 3.
10 Smp Sn II 237.
11 Par. p. 3.
12 Smp III 711.
Smp Sn II 237.
13 Sum Vil I 202, 203
,, II 375
,, II 430, 511, 554, 555
,, III 892.
14 Sum Vil III 805, 881 ; SA Sn III 171.
15 Ibid. II 543, III 883.
16 Ibid. II 554, 555 ; SA Sn III 198 ; Att 266, 267.

Cūlasiva, Goṇaraviya and Summa of Kaḷhāla

Among the contemporaries of Mahāsiva may be mentioned the theras Cūlasiva of Lokuttara,[1] Goṇaraviya,[2] and Summa of Kaḷhāla.[3] In the Visuddhimagga mention is made of a Cūlasiva who went over to India to lead a quite life there as people in Ceylon troubled him too much by showing him their respect and offering him the requisites.[4] We are, however, unable to identify him with the Cūlasiva of Lokuttara. Goṇaraviya is mentioned in connection with a discussion between himself and Mahāsiva.[5] No detailed information is available of Summa.

Tipiṭaka Cūlanāga

Another thera belonging to this period is Tipiṭaka Cūlanāga[6] who may be identified with the Cūlanāga of the Parivāra list. He was a pupil of Dīpavihāravāsī Summa,[7] and is described as a man who would not give a reply without first carefully thinking of it.[8] Cūlanāga was intensely loved by king Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa. When the thera was suffering from a serious illness and was lying on his death-bed, the king himself nursed him and went about weeping bemoaning the fact that ' the axle of the wheel of the Dhamma was about to break '.[9] Cūlanāga was a learned man and a clever preacher Once he preached the Chachakka Sutta with very great success at Ambilahālavihāra.[10] A curious effect which a sermon of this thera on the doctrine of *anattā* (non-soul) had on a certain brāhmaṇa is described in the Sāratthappakāsinī.[11] Difference of views with regard to doctrinal topics between Cūlanāga and his teacher[12] and also between himself and his fellow pupil Cūlābhaya[13] is recorded in several places. Once a discussion arose among Tipiṭaka Cūlanāga, Tipiṭaka Cūlābhaya and Tipiṭaka Mahādhammarakkhita over a word in the Puggalapaññatti. The three theras expressed three different views, but they were preserved as authoritative statements on the ground that there must be some reason in all the three views as the theras were all learned men.[14] There is, however, one instance where Buddhaghosa accepts an interpretation of Tipiṭaka Mahādhammarakkhita but hesitates to accept those of Cūlanāga and of Mahādatta of Moravāpi as they appeared to contradict the Canonical Text.[15]

Tipiṭaka Cūlābhaya

Tipiṭaka Cūlābhaya mentioned above was also a pupil of Dīpavihāravāsī Summa,[16] and may safely be identified with the Cūlābhaya of the Parivāra list.[17] A curious episode about his student days is given in the

1 Sum Vil III 883.
2 Pap II 286.
3 Sum Vil III 882.
4 Vi I 170.
5 Pap II 286.
6 Att 266.
7 Man II 133.
8 Puggala Paññatti Commentary, J. P. T. S. 1914, p. 223.
9 SV 452.
10 Pap Sn 1025.
11 SA II 276.
12 Pap I 230 ; Man II 133 ; Man Sn 831 ; SV 342 ; Sum Vil III 744.
13 SV 16 ; SA Sn III 206 ; Att 230.
14 Pug. Pañ. Com., J. P. T. S. 1914, p. 190.
15 PsmA 405. For further references to Cūlanāga (and other persons also) *see* Appendix IA
16 Pap I 155.
17 Par. P. 3.

Visuddhimagga. It would not be out of place here to deal with the episode in brief as it gives an idea of the importance with which learning under a teacher and not merely from books was regarded at that time. The story runs as follows :

Tipiṭaka Cūlābhaya thera had learned all the three Piṭakas but had made no study of the Commentaries. One day he proclaimed by beat of the golden drum that he would preach from the Piṭakas at the Pañcanikāya Maṇḍala Pavilion. The bhikkhus decided that they would not allow him to preach anything which he had not learned from his teacher. When Cūlābhaya went to see his preceptor, the latter asked him certain questions on the *ācariyavādas* and as he was unable to give answers with any certainty, he was asked to go and learn them from Mahādhammarakkhita thera of Tulādhārapabbata-vihāra in Rohaṇa. He went there accordingly and learned the teachings in their entirety.[1]

After studying at Rohaṇa he returned to Anurādhapura. We find him more than once engaged in teaching at the Lohapāsāda.[2] As a judge in hearing cases among the bhikkhus he was impartial to the utmost.[3] He was well known, too, for the power of his memory,[4] and he possessed the talent of answering questions promptly and to the point.[5] Divergent views expressed by this thera and Cūlanāga have already been noted.[6]

Dīpavihāravāsi Summa

As was remarked above, Summa of Dīpavihāra[7] was the teacher of both Tipiṭaka Cūlanāga and Tipiṭaka Cūlābhaya. The thera lived (at least for some time) at Girivihāra.[8] An explanation given by him of a doctrinal topic is recorded as authority in the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī.[9] King Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa had very great affection and respect for this thera. The Sammohavinodanī gives an interesting account of a meeting of these two personages.[10]

Tipiṭaka Mahādhammarakkhita

Tipiṭaka Mahādhammarakkhita is already known to us as the learned thera of Rohaṇa who taught the *ācariyavādas* to Tipiṭaka Cūlābhaya. According to the account in the Visuddhimagga he knew all the Piṭakas together with the *ācariyavādas* though he had been out of touch with them excepting the Dīgha and Majjhima-Nikāyas, for thirty years.[11] Buddhaghosa attaches very great importance to the views of this thera. In the Atthasālinī he includes an explanation of Dhammarakkhita among the *ācariyavādas*.[12]

1 Vi I 96.
2 Smp III 591 ; Sum Vil II 442.
3 Smp III 591.
4 Sum Vil II 530.
5 Pug. Pañ. Com. J. P. T. S. 1914, p. 223.
6 Also *see* Man I 26, SA Sn III 215. For some of his other interpretations of the Doctrine *see* SV 11 ; Vi I 69, II 394.
7 Also called Sumana of Dīpavihāra (Pap. I 155), Summa of Dibbavihāra (SV 342), and Tipiṭaka Culla Summa (Pap. I 230).
8 Sum Vil II 514 ; Also called Girigāmakaṇṇa SV 452.
9 Sum Sil II 514.
10 SV 452.
11 Vi I 96.
12 Att 278.

Mahādatta and Dīghabhāṇaka Abhaya

Among the contemporaries of Mahādhammarakkhita may be classed Mahādatta of Moravāpi and Dīghabhāṇaka Abhaya.[1] We do not have much information, besides what has been observed previously, concerning the former. An occasion on which Mahādatta's pupils pointed out an error in one of his explanations is recorded in the Atthasālinī.[2] From the same Commentary it is evident that his views, too, were preserved as *ācariyavādas*.[3]

On the other hand there are many passages referring to Abhaya. He may be identified with the thera of the same name in the Parivāra list. In some places the name occurs also as Dīghabhāṇaka Mahā Abhaya.[4] Though it is very likely that this name and the name Dīghabhāṇaka Abhaya both referred to the same person we are unable to come to any definite conclusion about it.

Buddhaghosa quotes the name of Abhaya as a thera noted for his memory[5] and again as one famed for his patience with abuse.[6] In the Atthasālinī there is an interesting account of how Dīghabhāṇaka Abhaya showed hospitality to a band of thieves who came to plunder Cetiyapabbatavihāra.[7] Not only was Abhaya a pious and saintly monk, there is evidence to show that he was also a very clever preacher. According to the Manorathapūraṇī a woman of the village Ullabbhakolakaṇṇikā, hearing that Dīghabbhāṇaka Abhaya was to preach the Ariyavaṃsapaṭipadā, walked a distance of five yojanas with her suckling baby in her arms.[8] The Papañcasūdanī has preserved an account of how Abhaya convinced a thera living at Kalyāṇi that the latter had not till then attained Arahantship.[9] The Visuddhimagga and the Sammohavinodanī make mention of two conversations which Abhaya had with a thera named Mallaka[10] and with Mahādhammarakkhita[11] respectively. The latter discussion was on the significance of a word in the Vibhaṅga. This fact shows that Dīghabhāṇaka Abhaya knew not only the Dīghanikāya but the Abhidhamma as well.

As was pointed out in the preceding pages, most of these theras can be identified with those mentioned in the Parivāra and in the Samantapāsādikā. The earliest among those belonging to the period in question are Upatissa and Phussadeva.[12] Siva thera, the last one in the list, is very likely, as observed elsewhere, the Vinayadhara thera Mahāsiva. From this one may safely infer that the other theras, who appear in the list between Upatissa and this Siva and whose names do not occur in the Commentaries,

1 SV 81.
2 Att 230.
3 Ibid. 284—286.
4 Man II 249.
5 Sum Vil II 530. Here we find another Abhaya, namely, Mahāgatimba Abhaya, who was noted for the same faculty. This makes it difficult to determine which of the two theras is meant when the name occurs simply as Abhaya. *See* e.g., SV 275 ; Man II 54 ; Pap I 290 ; Smp Sn II 377.
6 Pap I 79.
7 Att 399 ; Smp II 474.
8 Man II 249.
9 Pap Sn 869.
10 Vi I 266.
11 Sv 81.
12 We may incidentally infer that the two theras Dhammapāli and Khema, whose names occur immediately before Upatissa's, belonged to the first century B.C.

also lived during the same period. They are Upāli, Mahānāga, Pupphanāma (Paduma?) and Cūḷadeva. The absence of the names of any theras of later date in this list enables us to fix a probable date for the Parivāra. The compilation of the book may have had an earlier beginning, but basing our inference on the fact mentioned above, it may be legitimate for us to deduce that it assumed its present shape in the first century A.D.

At the period we are now discussing the Bhikkhunīsāsana, too, was in a prosperous condition. We are told that king Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa's mother entered the Order,[1] and that the king built for her a nunnery known by the name Dantageha.[2] He built also a bath for the bhikkhunīs.[3]

Bhātika Abhaya 38—66 *A.D.*

We now pass on to the reign of the next king Bhātika Abhaya, son of Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa. His reign of twenty-eight years proved a period of peace and prosperity to Ceylon and in consequence the religion of the land was very much benefited during it. His worthy activities to support the sāsana are described in detail in the Mahāvaṃsa,[4] and need not be reproduced here.

The Manorathapūraṇī describes an interesting experiment which Bhātiya tried at the Mahācetiya to verify a statement of the Buddha that the perfume of the jasmine surpasses all other perfumes.[5] So averse was he to the slaughter of animals for food that he made the eating of beef an offence punishable with fine.[6] The Samantapāsādikā has another valuable episode narrating how he issued a proclamation that he would punish anyone who, in any matter of dispute, would not abide by the decision of the thera Ābhidhammika Godha. This proclamation was issued as the king was delighted at the satisfactory manner in which Godha gave his decision in a case of theft brought up before the chapter at Cetiyagiri and later brought up in appeal before the chapter at the Mahāvihāra. The case was instituted by a bhikkhu at Antarasamudda-vihāra against another bhikkhu for stealing a drinking vessel made of coconut shell.[7] Without much doubt we can identify this Godha with the thera of the same name and who was a contemporary of Mahāpaduma and Mahāsumma.[8]

We have the name of one other thera belonging to the same period, and that is of Cūlābhaya Sumana, who was foremost among the teachers of the Vinaya at the Mahāvihāra.[9]

At the time in question there were five great monasteries[10] and the greatest number of bhikkhus came to Anurādhapura from the south.[11]

Before concluding this chapter it would be helpful to make a few general observations on the period from the writing down of the Texts up to the reign of Bhātika Abhaya.

1 Mv 34.35.
2 Ibid. 34.36.
3 Dīp 20.33.
4 Mv 34.37 foll.
5 Man Sn 811.
6 SV 440.
7 Smp II 307.
8 Ibid. III 588. *See* also Ibid. II 430, 478.
9 Ibid. II 305.
10 The Mahāvihāra, Thūpārāma, Issarasamaṇārāma, Vessagirivihāra and the Cetiyagirivihāra. (*See* P. L. C. p. 56).
11 Smp II 306.

In the last chapter it was pointed out that in the latter part of the first century B.C. there occurred among the saṅgha a change of attitude, which was of vital importance and which, in my opinion, was a turning point in the Buddhist life in Ceylon. When the theras of the earlier part of the first century B.C. (*i.e.*, about in the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī) are compared with those of the first century A.D., we see that the former were more saintly than learned, while the reverse is true of the latter. I need not repeat here the probable causes that led to this change.

Again, as observed before, the Pāli Commentaries give the names of over twenty theras belonging to this period and quote many of them as authorities, whereas they are almost silent on the teachers who lived after the middle of the first century A.D. As far as I am aware, there are only two such theras[1] mentioned in the whole of the commentarial literature.[2]

An explanation is evidently needed for this silence. And the explanation is, in my opinion, it was in this period, that not only the Parivāra but also the major portion of the Sinhalese Commentaries came to be put into definite shape. There is another piece of evidence to be examined. As it has been pointed out briefly in an earlier chapter, Buddhaghosa tells us in his Samantapāsādikā that the Vinaya was brought to Ceylon from India by Mahinda and was handed down up to 'the present' day (*yāva ajjatanā* — up to today) by the unbroken line of teachers, and then proceeds to give, on the authority of the Porāṇas, the list of those teachers. If *yāva ajjatanā* referred to the time of Buddhaghosa we should find the list to contain the names of theras up to the fifth century A.D., but, as was shown before, no thera after the first century A.D., is mentioned there. It should now be clear that the Sinhalese equivalent of *yāva ajjatanā* was there already in the Sinhalese Vinaya Commentary and that Buddhaghosa's task was merely to put it into Pāli. This fact, too, directs us to the same inference with regard to the date of the compilation of the Sinhalese Commentaries. These Commentaries, no doubt, experienced additions, subtractions, systematizations and corruptions at the hands of teachers learned and otherwise during the next three centuries, until they were translated into Pāli by Buddhaghosa and his successors.[3]

Taking into consideration all the foregoing facts we may not be far wrong in supposing the first century A.D., as the first literary period in the history of Buddhism in Ceylon.

1 Namely, Lenagirivāsī Tissa in the reign of Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga 67—79 A.D. (Man Sn 669) and Mahāpaduma in the reign of Vasabha 127—171 A.D. (Smp II 471). A thera known by the name Mahāsaṭṭhivassa flourished during the same reign. He was a saint, and we have no evidence to think that he was a teacher.
2 Except, of course, the names of the commentators and their contemporaries of the 5th century A.D. as mentioned in the prologues and epilogues to the Aṭṭhakathās.
3 Events referring to periods later than the 1st cent. A.D. are found now and then in the Commentaries, E.g., *see* mention of Rudradāman (middle of second century) in Smp II 297, and Mahāsena (334—361 A.D.) in Smp III 519. But such references as these are exceedingly few.

The Growth of Dissentient Schools

It was observed in an earlier chapter that the first century B.C. marked a turning point in the history of Buddhism in Ceylon. The closing years of that century saw the first schism in the saṅgha. How Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya constructed the Abhayagirivihāra and gave it to his friend, the thera Mahātissa, and also how the dwellers of the Abhayagiri seceded from the Theravāda school are described in detail in the Mahāvaṃsa.[1] The Nikāyasaṅgraha adds that Mahadāḷiyātissa[2] accepted the teachings of the Dhammaruci Nikāya belonging to the Vajjiputtaka[3] sect in India and that thenceforth the Abhayagiri school was known as the Dhammaruci Nikāya.[4]

The Mahāvaṃsa is silent on the existence of any heretical sect for nearly another three centuries. So are the Pāli Commentaries on the whole. But a passage in the Samantapāsādikā throws considerable light on the events of that period. During the reign of king Bhātiya (38—66 A.D.) a dispute arose between the monks of the Abhayagiri and the Mahāvihāra schools over a rule in the Vinaya. Arguments were adduced by either party to prove its own case but no settlement could be arrived at. The news of the dispute reached the king who then appointed a minister, the brāhmaṇa Dīghakārāyana, wise and versed in 'other languages' (*paṇḍito bhāsantarakusalo*), to decide the case, which the latter did successfully.[5] The person who was appointed to solve the problem was not an ecclesiastic reputed for the knowledge of the Doctrine but a layman proficient in languages. From this fact one may justly infer that the ground of difference between the dwellers of the two monasteries was, in this case, more of a linguistic than of a doctrinal nature. The Abhayagiri school, as we shall see later, was greatly influenced by Mahāyānism in which the Canonical Texts were preserved not in Pāli but in Sanskrit. Perhaps at the time of this dispute the Abhayagiri school was already using Sanskrit versions of the Canon. The choice, too, of a brāhmaṇa minister who, needless to say, must have been well versed in Sanskrit, lends support to the same hypothesis.

Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga 67—79 A.D.

The sāsana continued to flourish uninterrupted for another quarter of a century. Bhātiya was succeeded by Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga, who was an equally pious monarch. Many and varied were his works to help the sāsana.[6] The Mahāvaṃsa describes how his generosity was extended towards the bhikkhus as well as the bhikkuṇīs in the island.[7] He risked his own life at the Ambatthala thūpa.[8] The great festival Giribhaṇḍapūjā performed after the construction of this thūpa is mentioned more than once in the

1 Mv 33.80 foll.
2 Bahalamassu Tissa of Mv 33.96.
3 For the views of this school, *see* Points of Controversy Intr. p. xviii.
4 Nikāyasaṅgraha, Colombo 1922, p. 11.
5 Smp III 582, 583.
6 For details *see* Mv 34.68 foll.
7 Mv 34.82 foll.
8 Ibid. 34.71.

Commentaries.[1] In connection with this festival occurs, too, the name of the thera, Tissa of Loṇagiri,[2] who was noted for the particularly virtuous life he led. Mention may also be made of two rock inscriptions at Molāhitiyavelegala recording certain gifts given by this king and by his brother Bhātiya to the saṅgha.[3]

Āmaṇḍagāmaṇī Abhaya 79—89 A.D.

Though short it was, the reign of Āmaṇḍagāmaṇī Abhaya, son of Mahādāṭhika, was one of peace not only to men but also to bird and beast as well. Himself a strict vegetarian he forbade the killing of any kind of living beings and encouraged the cultivation of vegetables throughout the country.[4]

The condition of Ceylon during the next two centuries was not very enviable. The country was often disturbed by internal political strife and consequently the religion, too, suffered considerably.

In the reign of Āmaṇḍagāmaṇī's younger brother and successor, Kaṇirajāṇutissa, we witness an instance of severe punishment being meted out to some bhikkhus for taking part in a political strife.[5]

In the Aṭṭhakathās there is hardly any reference to incidents that took place during this period. The Mahāvaṃsa is practically the only source for the history of Buddhism at this time, and I do not propose to reproduce here the facts given in that Chronicle. There are, however, a few rock inscriptions recording the gifts of certain kings belonging to the second century after Christ.[6]

Vasabha 127—171 A.D.

There was again a definite revival in the time of Vasabha (127—171 A.D.). During his long reign of forty-four years, he tried in manifold ways to promote the study and teaching of the religion.[7] He supplied the bhikkhus who were students with all the necessary requisites,[8] and we have reason to believe that Ceylon once more became the abode of many scholars.

The Sumaṅgalavilāsinī tells us how he rejoiced when he heard the Dīghabhāṇaka theras preaching the Mahāsudassana Sutta at the Ambalaṭṭhikā to the west of the Lohapāsādika.[9] The same Commentary gives an episode connected with a virtuous thera who became an Arahant at the last moment of his life. King Vasabha paid his respects to the thera just before the latter passed away.[10] Mention is made of another thera who was put to a test by Vasabha to find out whether the former was an Arahant or not.[11] Two other theras who lived about the same time were Mahāsiva and Mahāpaduma. The former gave Vasabha a detailed account of things enshrined in the Mahā thūpa.[12] The latter was noted for his knowledge of medicine though,

1 Man I 22, Man Sn 670, Pap II 398.
2 Lenagiri in Man Sn 669.
3 Ep. Zey. III pp. 153 foll.
4 Mv 35.6 foll.
5 Ibid. 35, vv. 10, 11.
6 *See* Ep. Zey. III pp. 153 foll. and pp. 162 foll.
7 Mv 35.72 foll.
8 Ibid 35.92.
9 Sum Vil II 635.
10 Ibid. I 291.
11 Pap Sn 869.
12 *See* Geiger : Mahāvaṃsa and Dīpavaṃsa p. 36.

conforming himself to the Vinaya rules, he did not use that knowledge to acquire personal gain.[1]

The Perumāiyaṅkulam Rock Inscription records a grant made by this king to a thera named Majibuka.[2] Further, the construction of a vihāra and the grant of it to the Buddhist fraternity by this king's son Vaṅkanāsika Tissa are recorded in the Nā-ulpata Cave Inscription.[3]

Gajabahu 174—196 A.D.

An event of importance but one that affected the purity of the religion in Ceylon, took place in the reign of the next king Gajabāhu. Twelve thousand Colian prisoners were brought by him from South India and they settled down in the country. Along with those Coḷians came also the cult of many Hindu gods and goddesses, such as Visṇu, Kārtikeya, Nātha and Pattini, which cult has persisted up to the present day.

Vohāraka Tissa 269—291 A.D.

Passing over the first half of the third century[4] we now come to the reign of Vohāraka Tissa. He stands out resplendent in the history of Ceylon as the first Sinhalese king who enacted a law setting aside bodily injury as punishment for the offenders of the law.[5]

Abhayagiri School

The Abhayagiri School which was formed in the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya became an independent centre of learning. It was mentioned before that a dispute arose between this school and the Mahāvihāra fraternity in the time of king Bhātiya. Both the monasteries, however, received simultaneous patronage from many Sinhalese monarchs, and though the differences seem to have grown slowly but steadily they did not make themselves felt strongly until the time of Vohāraka Tissa. The Nikāyasaṅgraha informs us that in the reign of this king, the dwellers of the Abhayagirivihāra put forward the Vaitulya Piṭaka[6] as the true teaching of the Buddha. According to this Chronicle the Vaitulya Piṭaka was produced in the time of king Asoka by heretical brāhmaṇas called Vaitulyas who had assumed the guise of monks to destroy the sāsana. Then the monks of the Theriya Nikāya(*i.e.* those of the Mahāvihāra) compared it with the authentic Texts and rejected it as being opposed to the Dhamma. Hearing this, king Vohāraka Tissa appointed his minister Kapila, proficient in all branches of learning, to investigate the matter. Kapila gave his verdict that the Vaitulya Piṭaka was not the true Doctrine. The king, thereupon, caused the Vaitulya books to be burnt and disgraced the evil-minded bhikkhus who accepted those teachings.[7]

1 Smp II 471
2 Ep. Zey. I 66 foll.
3 Ibid. I 146 foll. Wickremasinghe identifies the Lajaka Tissa of the inscription with Vaṅkanāsika Tissa.
4 Belonging about to this period there are several inscriptions which record gifts to the monkhood. *See* Ep. Zey. I pp. 21, 61, 62, 148, 211; III 116, 166, 224 foll. One inscription (I 252) records the particular attention paid by king Kaṇitthatissa. (227—245 A.D: according to Wickremasinghe c.229—247 A.D.) to the Abhayagirivihāra.
5 Mv 36 28.
6 The Vaitulya teachings referred to in this passage are according to Paranavitāna, identical with the teachings of Mahāyānism. *See* S. Paranavitāna: Mahāyānism in Ceylon, Colombo 1928. p. 36.
7 Nikāyāsaṅgraha p. 11.

Though their books were destroyed, the spirit of the heretics remained uncurbed. Hardly a score of years had lapsed when the monks at Abhayagiri came forward again and proclaimed the heretical teachings to be the true Doctrine. This happened in the reign of Goṭhābhaya.[1] Not all the monks of the Abhayagirivihāra were of this view. A great thera, Ussiliyātissa by name, heard the manner in which the heretics were disgraced by Vohāraka Tissa, took with him three hundred bhikkhus who would listen to his advice, left the Dhammaruci Sect and settled down in the Dakkhiṇa vihāra.[2] The reason that led to this secession was evidently not the expectation of forming a new sect, but the hope of not committing the same blunder as was committed by the previous generation at Abhayagiri. Things, however, took a different turn. A thera called Sāgala, from among the seceders, became the chief expounder of the faith and this led to the formation of a new school Sāgaliya named after this same teacher. The Nikāyasaṅgraha gives the formation of this sect as 795 years after the Buddha.[3]

The proclamation of the Abhayagiri Sect reached the ears of Goṭhābhaya. The king then assembled the monks of the five chief monasteries and learning that the Vaitulya doctrines were not the teachings of the Buddha, branded and sent out of the country sixty monks who had accepted the false teachings.

The troubles did not cease with this. Some of these monks went over to Kāvīra and lived there. At this time a shrewd and persevering man, Saṅghamitta by name, got into their fold and hearing the disgrace wrought by Goṭhābhaya on them, left for Ceylon with the firm determination of making the Mahāvihāra monks accept the Vaitulya teachings or of destroying the vihāra itself. Saṅghamitta soon won the favour of the king and became the tutor of the king's two sons Jeṭṭhatissa and Mahāsena. Though Goṭhābhaya had a great regard for Saṅghamitta, his attachment to the Mahāvihāra proved too strong to bring any harm upon it.

Jeṭṭhatissa 323—333 A.D.

Saṅghamitta was able to win the young prince Mahāsena over to his ways of thinking but Jeṭṭhatissa showed a different disposition towards him. Therefore, when Jeṭṭhatissa ascended the throne, Saṅghamitta, through fear of him, fled to Kāvīra. Jeṭṭhatissa reigned for ten years and was succeeded by Mahāsena.

Mahāsena 334—361 A.D.

Saṅghamitta, realizing that his long expected moment had come, came over to Ceylon, and residing at the Abhayagirivihāra, tried to make the dwellers of the five chief vihāras accept the Vaitulya teachings. Finding his attempt unsuccessful, he induced Mahāsena to make a proclamation that "whoever gives alms to a bhikkhu dwelling in the Mahāvihāra is liable to a fine of a hundred pieces of money". This proclamation had the desired effect. Three days the monks of the Mahāvihāra went their usual begging round but received no food whatsoever. On the fourth day they assembled at the Lohapāsāda and decided to face death rather than accept false views. With this firm resolve in mind, they left

1 Also called Goṭhakābhaya. Mv 36.98.
2 Nikāyasaṅgraha, p. 12.
3 Ibid. p. 12.

Anurādhapura, some going to Rohaṇa and others to the Malaya province. Saṅghamitta seized the opportunity and receiving the aid of a minister named Soṇa, caused the king to demolish three hundred and sixty-four colleges and monasteries. The wealth which belonged to these was transferred to the Abhayagiri vihāra. The Dhammarucians who thus came into power, appropriated the Cetiyavihāra and made that place a part of their residential quarters.

The Dīpavaṃsa tells us that when Mahāsena came to the throne he found two sections of monks and while attempting to find out which party was the virtuous, he fell into the clutches of the sinful ones including Dummitta (the bad Mitta) and Pāpasoṇa (the evil Soṇa). These two names, there is little doubt, refer to the Saṅghamitta and the Soṇa of the Mahāvaṃsa. Among the heretical views taught by them were : (1) that "computing the twenty years required for the Upasampadā ordination from the conception, which has been admitted by the Buddha in the story about Kumārakassapa, was not allowable, and (2) that the practice of wearing ivory fans which has not been admitted in the story about the Chabbaggiyas, was allowable."[1]

At this time one of the king's ministers, Meghavaṇṇābhaya, raised a rebellion. The revolt was not to gain power for himself but to end the disasters that befell the Mahāvihāra. However, no blood was shed, for Mahāsena overcome by the good faith of his minister promised to restore the buildings demolished by him. Meanwhile, Saṅghamitta who was mainly responsible for all the mischief was done to death by a certain carpenter at the instigation of the chief queen. The queen then collected the Vaitulya books and offered to the fire-god. The minister Soṇa, too, met his death at the hands of some enraged citizens. The king was as good as his words, and restored the Mahāvihāra. He built also many vihāras including the two nunneries Uttara and Abhaya.[2] The bhikkhus who were in exile for nine years returned to Anurādhapura.

But Mahāsena was not steadfast in his convictions. Saṅghamitta was now dead, but the king directed his admiration this time towards an equally evil-minded thera, Kohontissa by name, dwelling in the Dakkhiṇagiri-vihāra, and began to build for him the Jetavana-vihāra within the precints of the Mahāvihāra. The monks in the latter monastery objected to this, but the king was determined to put his scheme into action. In this obstinate perseverance, he was supported by the Abhayagiri fraternity. In due course the work of the Jetavana-vihāra was completed and Mahāsena gave it to his friend. Kohontissa was, before long, accused by the monks of the Mahāvihāra of an extreme offence. Dhammika, a Justice in the court of Mahāsena, was appointed to conduct the case. Kohontissa was proved to be guilty and, much against the wish of the king, was disrobed and expelled from the Order.

Thereupon the monks of the Sāgaliya Sect came over from Dakkhiṇagiri and settled down in the newly built Jetavana-vihāra. It should be observed that this sect, though it had no connections with the orthodox Mahāvihāra, did not accept the Vaitulya doctrines until the time of Ambaheraṇa Salamevan of the sixth century A.D.[3]

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1 Dīp. 22.67 foll.
2 Mv. 37.43.
3 This is a summarized version of the account in the Nikāyasaṅgraha, pp. 12—15 and Mv 36, 111—123 ; 37.1—39. For details *see* P. L. C. 56—63.

Siri Meghavaṇṇa

Mahāsena was succeeded by his son Siri Meghavaṇṇa.[1] He restored the buildings destroyed by his father[2] and did all in his power to help the Mahāvihāra in preserving the teachings of the Buddha in their pristine purity.

A very important event took place during the reign of this monarch, and that was the bringing over to Ceylon of the Tooth Relic of the Buddha from Kaliṅga. The Pāli poem Dāṭhāvaṃsa, based on earlier works in Sinhalese, deals with the history of this relic.[3] It should be observed that though Meghavaṇṇa was devoutly attached to the Mahāvihāra, he was very tolerant to the Abhayagirivihāra which was the seat of mischief in the days of his father, for we find that he decreed that the relic should be brought every year to the Abhayuttara[4] vihāra, and that the same sacrificial ceremonial as observed at the Temple of the Tooth Relic should be observed there also.[5]

Buddhadāsa

Passing over the reign of Meghavaṇṇa's successor Jeṭṭhatissa, we come to Buddhadāsa, the great royal surgeon. The description of him as an eminent surgeon, who devoted his entire life to the good of man and beast, is given in detail in the Mahāvaṃsa.[6] During the reign of this king the thera Mahādhammakathi translated the Suttas into Sinhalese.

Upatissa

Buddhadāsa was succeeded by his eldest son Upatissa. In the time of this king the island was visited with the double ill of a famine and plague. The king is said to have organised a chanting of the Ratana Sutta to avert these misfortunes.[7]

Mahānāma 409—431 A.D.

Upatissa met his death at the hands of his queen consort who had an intrigue with Upatissa's brother, Mahānāma. The latter was at that time leading the life of a monk, but after the murder of his brother, he gave up the robes to take in hand the reins of the government and then married Upatissa's consort.

From the account given in the Mahāvaṃsa it is evident that he was not favourably disposed towards the dwellers of the Mahāvihāra. He erected several vihāras and presented them to the bhikkhus of the Abhayagirivihāra, whereas he gave only one to the Mahāvihāra ; and that too not of his own accord but at the request of his queen.[8] The reason for taking this attitude was perhaps that when he was a monk he probably belonged to the Abhayagiri fraternity.

Mahānāma is the last monarch belonging to the period under consideration. An event of prime importance that occurred during his reign marks the beginning of a new era in the history of Theravāda Buddhism. That event was

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1 A rock inscription belonging to the reign of this king is given in Ep. Zey. III 172 foll.
2 Mv 37.54—91.
3 Ibid. 37.92—97.
4 Another name for Abhayagiri.
5 Mv 37.97. This practice was observed even at the time when the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hien (c. 400—415 A.D.) visited Ceylon. *See* Beal : Travels of Buddhist Pilgrims p. 157.
6 Mv. 37.105—171. For a Pillar Inscription belonging to this reign, *see* Ep. Zey. III 122.
7 Mv. 37.189—198.
8 Ibid. 37.213.

the translation into Pāli of the commentaries that existed from the time of Mahinda up to that day in Sinhalese, and which we have discussed at the very outset of this work. It is worthy of notice that the two most important events, namely, the writing down of the Pāli Texts at Āloka-vihāra and the translation of the Commentaries into Pāli, both took place during the reigns of kings who were not favourably disposed towards the Mahāvihāra and who actively helped the opposing camp, the Abhayagirivihāra.

As we have seen before, the Mahāvihāra came into open conflict with the dissentient schools only on a few occasions, namely, in the reigns of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī, Bhātiya, Vohāraka Tissa, Goṭhābhaya and Mahāsena. The Atthasālinī records a controversy that arose at a meeting where the holders of all the different views were present (*sabba-sāmayika parisā*). Some monks in that assembly held the view that the Abhidhamma Piṭaka was not preached by the Buddha.[1] This was clearly opposed to the orthodox view. Unfortunately for us, we are unable to find out when this dispute arose. It is quite possible that such meetings were frequently held and that the friendly disposition of monks belonging to one school towards those of another was not usually affected by the mere fact of their holding different views.

The dissenters, however, did not remain idle. We have every reason to believe that they, especially the Dhammarucians, were striving hard to propagate their views. When Fa Hien visited Ceylon in the first or the second decade of the first century A.D., he found more bhikkhus living in the Abhayagirivihāra than in the Mahāvihāra, the actual numbers being 5000 in the former and 3000 in the latter.[2]

Abhayagiri Fraternity

It may incidentally be remarked that the Abhayagirivihāra continued to flourish for several centuries to come. An inscription of the eleventh century gives a glowing description of this vihāra. It records that Abhayagiri was then a monastery 'where dwelt bands of scholars directing their wisdom to great literary works and adorning the Abhayaturāmaha-sä, just as a flight of garuḍas hovers with widespread wing over rows of serpents on the Himālayan range; which responded with the voice of those versed in the scriptures, expounding the Dharma; which was adorned by virtuous men as by mines of gems; where flourished like unto an assemblage of coral tendrils numbers of Sākya Sramaṇas (Buddhist monks) endowed with the virtues of temperance, contentment and religious austerity ....; where frequented various teachers of eminence; .... and over which presided the Head of the Dhammaruci (fraternity) ....'[3]

The dwellers of the Mahāvihāra, Fa Hien tells us, were opposed to the Great Vehicle (Mahāyāna) and adhered to the teaching of the Little Vehicle (Hīnayāna), whereas the Abhayagiri school studied both vehicles, and widely diffused the Tripiṭakas.[4] When Fa Hien left Ceylon he took with him a copy of the Vinaya Piṭaka of the Mahīsāsaka School, the Dīrghāgama and the Saṃyuktāgama (sūtras) and also the Saṃyuktasañchaya-piṭaka, all

1 Att 28. This same view was held by the Mahāsaṇghikas who were the first to form a school distinct from the Theravādins. *See* Dīp. 5.37.
2 Beal: Travels of Buddhist Pilgrims, p. 151, 159.
3 Ep. Zey. I pp. 225, 226.
4 Beal: Buddhist Records of the Western World. Vol. II p. 247.

written in Sanskrit.[1] Very likely these books were taken away from Abhayagiri where, as pointed out before, it is possible that Sanskrit was the language in which the Canonical Texts were preserved. Among these books the Saṃyuktāgama was translated into Chinese by one Guṇabhadra who arrived in the province Kan in 435 A.D. Though he was born in Central India, he went to China from Ceylon.[2] Another Ceylonese, Saṅghavarmi by name, arrived in China in 420 A.D., and translated the Mahīsāsaka Vinaya.[3]

Mahīsāsaka School

No reference to the existence of the Mahīsāsaka Sect in Ceylon is recorded in the Mahāvaṃsa or in any commentarial work excepting the Jātakaṭṭhakathā. Here, too, the reference is in a verse belonging to the prologue and not in the main part of the book.[4] The commentator mentions the name of Buddhadeva, a monk belonging to the Mahiṃsāsaka Sect, as one who requested him to compose the Aṭṭhakathā in Pāli. This fact together with the choice made by Fa Hien concerning the copy of the Vinaya Piṭaka enables us to conclude with some justification that the Mahiṃsāsaka Sect was a well established school in Ceylon, though perhaps not so influential as the Dhammaruci Nikāya.

Vitaṇḍavādins

Besides the schools mentioned above, we often come across in the Commentaries references to the Vitaṇḍavādins.[5] They are always depicted as putting forward views contrary to those held by the Theravādins. The Sumaṅgalavilāsinī gives a sarcastic description of the nature of a Vitaṇḍa-conversation. Their argument would be, the commentator says, "A crow is white because its bones are white; a crane is red because its blood is red."[6] The Vitaṇḍavādins differed not with regard to the Text but about the interpretation of it. They sometimes adhered strictly to the letter and lost sight of the meaning.[7] They quoted as authority the same Suttas as were accepted by the Theravādins.[8] At times the latter would pour forth blame upon the Vitaṇḍavādins for quoting a Sutta, the meaning of which they (the Vitaṇḍavādins) had not properly grasped.[9] At the end of a dispute in which the defeat is, of course, always with the Vitaṇḍavādin, he is invariably made to appear ridiculous.[10]

The disputes are on doctrinal topics of a varied nature.[11] There is, however, a reference in the Atthasālinī which shows that the Vitaṇḍavādins

1 Legge: Travels of Fa Hien p. 111.
2 M. Anesaki: Letter published in J.R.A.S. 1903 p. 369.
3 Ibid. p. 368.
4 J I p. 1, verse 9.
5 Occurs also as Vidaddhavādin (Att. 3). Stede defines the word Vitaṇḍavādin as a "sophist" or an "arguer". (P. T. S. Pāli Dictionary). The word Vitaṇḍā occurs in Sanskrit literature, too, and Monier Williams in his Sanskrit English Dictionary defines it as "cavil, captious objection, hypercriticism, perverse or frivolous argument (especially in the Nyāya phil., idly carping at the arguments of assertions of another without attempting to establish the opposite side of the question), frivolous or fallacious controversy or wrangling, debate, criticism (in general).
6 Sum Vil I 91. Also *see* Man Sn 831.
7 Pap Sn 821.
8 Pap II 363; Pap Sn 671.
9 Pap Sn 572.
10 Att. 93, 241; Pap Sn 572, 671; ItA 147—149.
11 *See* Att. 90, 93, 241; Man Sn 848; ItA 147—149; SV 9, 51—54, 319; Pap II 363. Pap Sn 572, 671, 821, 1026.

did not accept the Kathāvatthu as a book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka, but had instead the Mahādhammahadaya.[1] Now in Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka there are mentioned two books: The Abhidharma—hrdaya—sāstra (No. 1288) and the Dharmajina-Abhidharma-hrdaya-sāstra (No. 1294). The first is said to be an Abhidharma book of the Hīnayāna.[2] It was composed by the venerable Dharmajina (?) and translated by Gautama Saṅghadeva, together with Hwui-yuen, A.D., 391, of the Eastern Tsin dynasty A.D. 317—420. The second was compiled by the venerable Upatissa and translated by Narendrayasas, A.D. 563, of the Northern Tshi dynasty, A.D. 550—577. But we are unable to say definitely whether the Mahādhammahadaya of the Vitaṇḍavādins had any connection with these or not.

The Dīpavaṃsa, too, has a reference which may not be overlooked. Referring to the reign of Vohāra Tissa; the Chronicle records that wicked bhikkhus proclaimed Vitaṇḍavādas and destroyed the religion of the Jina; but the king, when he perceived that, subdued those wicked ones with the aid of the minister Kapila.[3] As pointed out earlier, the Mahāvaṃsa and the Nikāyasaṅgraha refer to this same event and declare that the Abhayagiri School accepted the Vaitulya teachings and sought to destroy the pure Doctrine. This solitary reference is not sufficient to identify the Vitaṇḍavādins with the holders of the Vaitulya teachings, but, with the evidence before us, we may be justified in concluding that they were a class of Buddhists who, though accepting the same Canonical Texts (with the single exception of the Kathāvatthu) as Theravādins did, were not bound strictly by each and every dogmatic exposition of the latter.

Lokottaravāda School

The influence of one other heretical sect on Theravāda Buddhism remains to be mentioned. That sect is the Lokottaravāda School who believed that the Buddha was supernatural.

When a great spiritual teacher passes away it is natural for his followers to pay little attention to the human aspect of his life and to deify him. This they do with deep veneration to their leader. The process being a natural one, it is also possible that the attempts of the Ceylonese Buddhists to give a supernatural colouring to the life of the Buddha came about without the direct influence of the Lokottaravāda School which prevailed in India. Whatever the reasons were, there is not the least doubt that the Theravādins, too, who 'adhered strictly to the realistic view of the person of their Master' did tend to some extent towards making the Buddha supernatural. We shall now deal with one or two out of a considerable number of cases where this tendency is evident.

(1) The Jāra Sutta of the Saṃyuttanikāya refers to an occasion when the Buddha, during a sojourn near Sāvatthi, was one day seated and was warming his back in the sunshine.

"Then the venerable Ānanda came to see the Exalted One, and on coming to him saluted him and, while chafing his limbs with his hands, said to the Exalted One: 'It is a strange thing, lord! It is a wonder, lord, how the skin of the Exalted One is no longer clear and translucent, and how all his

1 Att. 3.
2 Catalogue p. xvi.
3 Dīp. 22, vv. 43, 44.

limbs are slack and wrinkled, his body bent forward, and a change is to be seen in his sense-faculties of eye, ear, nose, tongue and body!"

'So it is, Ānanda, old age is by nature inherent in youth, sickness in health, and death in life. Thus it is that my skin is no longer clear and translucent as of yore; my limbs are slack and wrinkled, my body stoops forward and a change is to be noticed in my sense-faculties of eye, ear, nose, tongue and body'."[1]

This dialogue leaves no doubt whatever concerning the Buddha's own admission as to his being subject to decay during his old age. Let us see what the Commentary has to say on this. The bodies of the Buddhas, explains the Commentary, do not get wrinkled. What led Ānanda to make that remark was a solitary wrinkle between his shoulders. It was the size of a hair and was seen only by Ānanda. Nor was the Buddha's body bent forward to any extent that could be observed by others. Ānanda, alone, being a close attendant of the Buddha, was able to notice it. The power of the five senses had altered by no means. Ānanda said that there was a change not because he perceived but because he inferred a change.[2]

This attitude taken by the commentator (or commentators) is very much akin to the standpoint of the Lokottaravādin as depicted in the Mahāvastu.[3]

(2) The Majjhimanikāya gives us an instance where the Buddha, after giving a discourse for some time at the newly built Santhāgāra Hall at Kapilavatthu, asked Ānanda to continue the discourse and retired as a pain arose in his back.[4] The Commentary, while admitting that the body of the Buddha was not inaccessible to disease, tries to show that the pain was an exceedingly small one but the Buddha made use of the opportunity because he desired to use the hall in all the four postures of walking, standing, sitting and lying down.[5]

Space does not permit me to discuss here more references of a similar nature.[6] In fairness, however, to the Theravādins, it must be mentioned that though the inevitable tendency to make the Buddha supernatural existed, they did not proceed far in that direction but 'adhered strictly to the realistic view of the person of their Master' more than any other school of Buddhism did. The progress (or rather the corruption) attained by other schools in this line is shown with clearness by Prof. Takakusu in his article 'Docetism' in Hasting's Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.[7]

Secret Doctrines

A few words remain to be said of a class of literature that did not belong to the orthodox Canon. The teachings of the Buddha were open to everybody and there was nothing esoteric or hidden in them.[8] But a few centuries after his passing away, esoteric books came to be composed and we find

1 S. Vol. 5, pp. 216, 217. Also *see* Kindred Sayings Vol. 5, pp. 191, 192.
2 SA Sn III 193, 194.
3 Mahāvastu. Vol. I p. 169.
4 M. I p. 354.
5 Pap. Sn 581.
6 For more examples *see* Man II 379; J I 50, 53, 64, 68; Sum Vil I 58, II 434 foll. BuA 241; Pj II (2) 401; SA Sn III 193, 194, 198.
7 Also *see* N. Dutt: Early History of the Spread of Buddhism pp. 246 foll.
8 *See* D. II, p. 100.

them prevalent even in Ceylon, the home of the orthodox Doctrine. There is reason to believe that secret books were studied by the Theravādins themselves and that receiving instructions in such secret books from a teacher was a special privilege of the well-behaved pupil. This is evident from a passage in the Visuddhimagga which says : "Again, in entrusting himself (*i.e.*, a student-bhikkhu) to a teacher, he should say 'Myself I offer to you'. For he who has not so entrusted himself is unruly, stubborn, takes advice from no one, or goes about at this own will, without asking leave of the teacher. And the teacher favours him not with things of the flesh or of the Doctrine, neither does he teach him any secret book lore (*guḷhaṃ ganthaṃ na sikkhāpeti*). Not getting this double favour he gets no foothold in the religion and before long reaches a wicked or wordly state."[1] The Visuddhimagga, being one of the most authoritative books on matters dealing with the Theravāda School, we may legitimately infer that the state of affairs depicted in this passage was what obtained among the orthodox circles in the time of Buddhaghosa.

This inference is strengthened by the existence of similar passages in the Papañcasūdanī[2] and in the Manorathapūraṇī.[3] The bhikkhus who do not treat their teachers properly, these two Commentaries say, would not receive from the latter training in the Pāli or the Aṭṭhakathā or the Compilation of Doctrinal Discourses (*Dhammakathābandha*) or the Secret Books (*Gūḷhagantha*). We are unable to say what the Dhammakathābandha was. Perhaps it included books that formed the basis of the later Ṭīkās and works like the Rasavāhinī. The secret book (or class of books) mentioned in these passages was, no doubt, one accepted by the Theravādins. There were also other books dealing with secret doctrines but rejected by the orthodox schools on the ground that they were not the teachings of the Buddha. Such were the Vaṇṇapiṭaka, Aṅgulimālapiṭaka, Raṭṭhapālagajjita, Ālavakagajjita, Gūḷha Ummagga, Gūḷha Vessantara and Gūḷha Vinaya.[4] Nevertheless, the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī and the Manorathapūraṇī present a more conciliatory attitude in advocating not a wholesale rejection but the rejection of only those books which, after examination, are not found to be conducive to the restraint of passion and other defilements. The books mentioned in these two Commentaries are the last three in the foregoing list and the Vedallapiṭaka.[5]

In addition to these there were other compilations, which were not recited at the three councils but seem to have been accepted by the Theravādins, They were the Kulumba Sutta, Rājovāda Sutta, Tikkhindriya Sutta, Catuparivaṭṭa Sutta, Nandopananda Sutta,[6] the five Kathāvatthus : Dhātukathā, Ārammaṇakathā, Asubhakathā, Ñāṇavatthukathā and Vijjā-Kadambaka ;[7] the Maggakathā and the Buddhikaraṇḍaka.[6] According to the Samantapāsādikā there was an analysis of the thirty-seven *bodhipakkhiya dhammas* in the books Maggakathā, Ārammaṇakathā, Bodhikaraṇḍaka,

1 P.P. II 135 ; Vi I 115.
2 Pap II 264.
3 Man Sn 854.
4 Smp Sn II 5. The Sāratthappakāsinī (II 201) gives the same list with the exception of the Gūḷha Ummagga and with the addition of the Vetullapiṭaka—or the Vedallapiṭaka, according to some recensions—and calls these books 'counterfeits of the true teachings.'
5 Sum Vil II 566 ; Man Sn 579.
6 Smp Sn II 5.
7 SA II 210.

Ñāṇavatthu and the Asubhakathā.[1] The Mahādhātukathā[2] which was accepted by some in place of the Kathāvatthu in the Abhidhamma Piṭaka was perhaps the same as the Dhātukathā in this list. The Theravādins rejected it as there was nothing new in it (*Mahādhātukathāyaṃ apubbaṃ natthi*). Another such book called Sīlūpadesa was considered to have been composed by Sāriputta thera.[3]

It is unfortunate that we do not have any further information about most of these books. The Nikāyasaṅgraha is of considerable help in this connection. According to this Chronicle the authorship of some of the books are as follows :

Book		*Author*
Vaṇṇapiṭaka	..	Hemavatika School
Aṅgulimālapiṭaka	..	Rājagirika ,,
Gūḷha Vessantara	..	Siddhatthaka ,,
Raṭṭhapālagajjita	..	Pubbaseliya ,,
Ālavakagajjita	..	Aparaseliya ,,
Gūḷha Vinaya	..	Vājiriya ,,

Information on these as well as on many other books seems to have been available in Ceylon till as late as the fourteenth century, for Dharmakīrti, the author of the Nikāyasaṅgraha, cuts short his account saying that it would be too long a task to describe separately how these books were composed.[4]

Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, too, is of some help, though the books that could be traced—and without much certainty either—to any in the Chinese collection are very few, the number being only three, namely, The Rājovāda Sutta, the Aṅgulimālapiṭaka and the Raṭṭhapālagajjita.

1.—*Rājovāda Sutta*

There are four Suttas having the title Rājāvavādaka : *viz.*, Nos. 248, 249, 250 and 988 of the Catalogue. The last, called also the Fo-show-shaṅ-ciun-wān-su-waṅ-ciṇ (*Buddabhāsita-Prasenajit-rāja-paripṛcchā-sūtra*), is probably the one in our list, as according to Nanjio, it is mentioned in the Tibetan Catalogue C'-yeun-lu under the heading of the sūtras belonging to the Hīnayāna.

2.—*Aṅgulimālapiṭaka*

There are three sūtras having the name Aṅgulimāla (Nos. 434, 621 and 622.). No. 621 is called the Fo-shwo-yāṅ-cüe-no-ciṅ (Sūtra spoken by the Buddha on Aṅgulimālya). This is said to be a Sūtra belonging to the Hīnayāna.[5]

3.—*Raṭṭhapālagajjita*

Three works bearing titles resembling this are given in the Catalogue :

(*a*) No. 23 (18). Rāsṭrapāla-paripṛcchā,

(*b*) No. 594 Fo-shwo-lāi-chā-hö-lo-ciṅ (Sūtra spoken by the Buddha on Rāsṭrapāla, and

(*c*) No. 873 Rāsṭrapālaparipṛcchā.

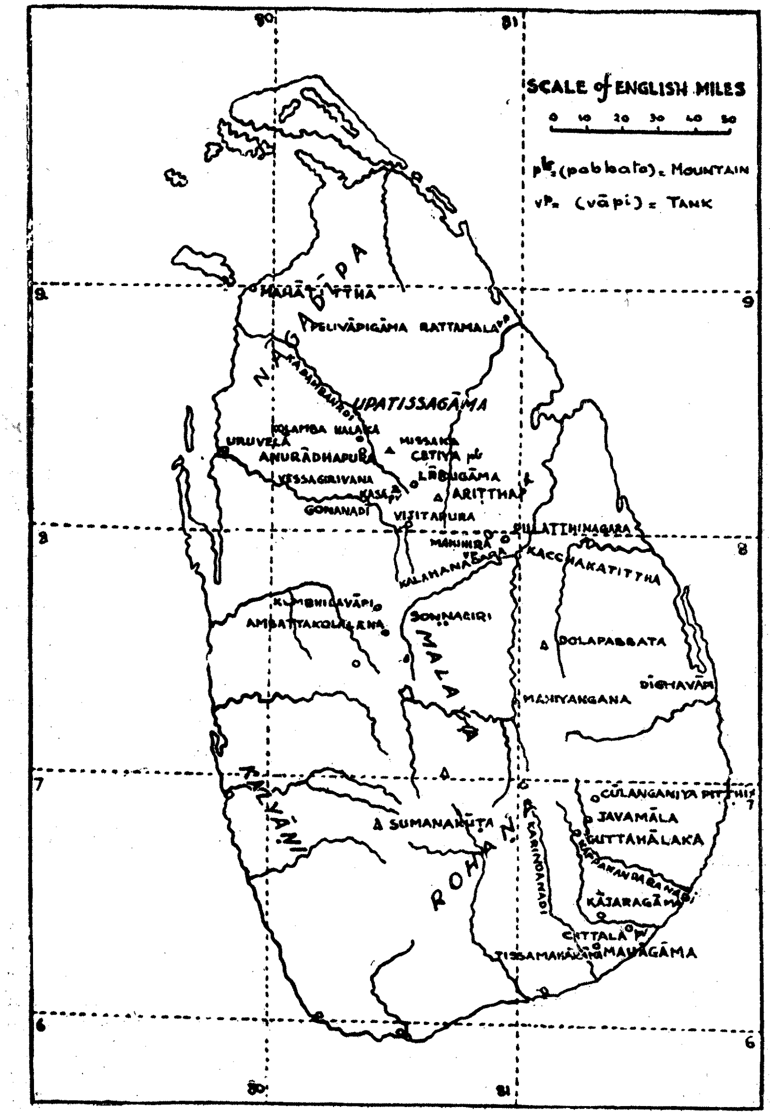
No. 594 belongs to the Hīnayāna.[6]

1 Smp Sn II 5.
2 Att. 4.
3 Smp Sn II 5.
4 Nikāyasaṅgraha p. 9.
5 See Nanjio's Catalogue pp. xv and 152.
6 Ibid p. xv

The Nikāyasaṅgraha mentions also that there were three classes of non-orthodox literature which originated in India and, later, were brought to Ceylon. They were the works expressing the views of the Vaitulya and the Vājiriya Schools and also works embodying the sciences such as the Ratnakūṭa.[1] Nanjio's Catalogue gives a whole series of works belonging to the Ratnakūṭa class.[2] It is said in the Nikāyasaṅgraha that the Ratnakūṭa Sāstras were composed by the Andhaka School and the Raṭṭhapālagajjita by the Pubbaseliya.[3] In Nanjio's Catalogue Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā (No. 23/18) belongs to the Ratnakūṭa class, and hence it, too, should be a work of the Andhaka School. There is thus an apparent discrepancy if the Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā is the same as the Raṭṭhapālagajjita. But, on further consideration, it becomes clear that there is no discrepancy as the Pubbaseliya was only a sub-sect of the Andhaka School.[4]

From the survey made in the preceding pages it is not difficult to understand the influence which the unorthodox schools had on the Theravādins. Whenever occasion arose the Theravādins spared no pains in resisting the inroads of the heretical doctrines and they were successful when the latter came into open conflict as during the reign of Mahāsena. The Theravādins however, gradually and unknowingly succumbed when the heretical teaching came not in the nature of producing schisms but of tending to make the Buddha and events connected with his life appear supernatural. An account of an event of that description is given by Fa Hien. When he was residing in Ceylon he heard a monk from India, reciting a sacred book and giving the past and future 'history' of the Buddha's bowl-relic. This 'history' was one episode of miraculous happenings. At the end of the discourse Fa Hien wished to copy it down, on which the monk said : "This is no sacred book, but only what I have learned by memory and repeat verbally."[5] Though Fa Hien, with the historical and literary exactitude of his race, wished to know the authenticity of that sermon it is not likely that it would ever have occurred to the ordinary man in the audience to make any such inquiries. We may, therefore, not be far from the truth if we suppose that it was heretical influences of this nature that found their way into Theravāda Buddhism and obtained a permanent abode there.

1 Nikāyasaṅgraha p. 9.
2 Eighty-six works in all. (Nos. 23—60, No. 23 containing 49 Sūtras).
3 Nikāyasaṅgraha p. 8.
4 *See* Mrs. Rhys Davids : Points of Controversy, Intr. p. xliii.
5 Beal : Travels of Buddhist Pilgrims pp. 161—164.



Where the Faith Flourished

We have already seen how within a short time after the advent of Mahinda Buddhism spread through the length and breadth of Ceylon. What we have discussed so far was the evidence of the Pāli Commentaries with regard to the spread of the religion and also the many vicissitudes through which it passed, considered as far as possible, in their chronological order. The Commentaries contain also an abundance of information pertaining to events connected with the history of the faith, but which cannot be treated chronologically, as many of the references give no clue whatsoever to the time of the occurrence of an event about which the reference is made. A helpful way of making use of these invaluable references is to treat them from a geographical aspect, that is to say, to group them according to the places mentioned therein and thus make an attempt to reconstruct the history of the different localities where the faith flourished. The references to Cetiyagiri, however, form a fortunate exception in that we are able to arrange many of them in chronological order.

One other preliminary remark should be made; that is, though we are unable to give a connected chronology, we can, with a fair degree of accuracy, lay down the upper and lower limits. The former is evidently the time of Mahinda's advent to Ceylon in the middle of the third century B.C. The extreme lower limit is the early part of the fifth century A.D. when the Commentaries were written in Pāli by Buddhaghosa and his successors. But in an earlier chapter it was pointed out that the compilation of the main part of the Sinhalese Commentaries was, very likely, completed by about the middle of the first century A.D. We may, therefore not be far wrong if we consider the description of the Buddhist centres to be discussed in the present chapter as depicting mainly the state of affairs during the first three centuries after the arrival of Mahinda. It should also be remarked that the places to be mentioned presently do not go to form the whole list of those referred to in the Commentaries. Our attention here will be mainly directed to places which we have had no occasion to discuss in the preceding chapters.[1]

Cetiyapabbata

We shall start with Missakapabbata or Cetiyapabbata, the modern Mihintale (Mahinda-thala), where the first sermon was delivered by Mahinda. At the time when the Commentaries were compiled Mihintale was known by the name Cetiyapabbata or Cetiyagiri. This name was given to it on account of the many shrines built there.[2] The mountain is situated about 8 miles to the east of Anurādhapura.[3] It has three peaks and 'each peak is crowned by a dāgāba. The ascent to a tableland between two of the peaks is assisted by a flight of nearly two thousand steps of granite, each 20 feet

1 For a full list of the places *see* Appendix 1B.
2 Mv tr. p. 114 note 3.
3 Ibid. p. 89. note 3.

broad.'[1] The northern peak was known as the Sīlakūṭa. Immediately below it lies the little tableland on which the Ambatthaladāgāba stands.[2] Very likely the Therambatthala mentioned in the Visuddhimagga and the place of the same name where the thera Mahārohaṇagutta is said to have lived are identical with this Ambatthala.[3]

The mountain has many caves which once formed the peaceful abodes of many a Buddhist hermit. The best known of these caves is the Mahindaguhā or the 'Cave of Mahinda'. Buddhaghosa mentions Hatthikucchipabbhāra and Mahindaguhā as examples of places for meditation for people with an inquiring turn of mind. Dwelling in a place of this nature which is hidden by the forest and at the mouth of a cleft, enables such a person to concentrate his thoughts.[4] The Papañcasūdanī mentions the name of another cave at Cetiyapabbata. It is the cave called Piyaṅgu. The thera Lomasa Nāga lived here.[5]

The Cetiyagirivihāra was so well known as an abode of the holy ones that it became an unsuitable place for quiet meditation, for when a bhikkhu lived there people would gather to honour him thinking that he was an Arahant. The same was true with regard to the monasteries such as Dakkhiṇagiri, Hatthikuchi and Cittalapabbata.[6]

Cetiyapabbata became an important place from the very beginning. Mahinda made his abode there to spend the first rainy season,[7] and this, no doubt, attracted many people to the place. When the southern branch of the sacred Bodhi Tree was brought by Saṅghamittā to Anurādhapura, a sapling from the seeds of that branch was planted at Cetiyapabbata.[8] The demise, too, of Mahinda occurred in the same place, when he was spending the rainy season there,[9] and his name was further commemorated by king Uttiya by building a thūpa on the Cetiya-mountain enshrining a portion of his relics.[10]

The next reference in the Commentaries to Cetiyapabbata is concerning an event which took place about hundred years later. The thera Maliyadeva, who lived in the time of king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, preached the Chachakka Sutta here and sixty theras attained Arahantship.[11]

During the reign of Saddhātissa, the younger brother of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, there lived in this vihāra the thera Kāla Buddharakkhita, receiving the respect of the king and imparting religious instructions to a large number of bhikkhus.[12] The king was once observing the *uposatha-sīla* or the eight precepts in the King's Cave (*Rājalena*) at Cetiyapabbata, and, as mentioned on a previous occasion, listened one whole night to a discourse delivered by a

1 T. W. Rhys Davids in Hasting's Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics Vol. 3, p. 332. For further details *see* H. W. Cave : Book of Ceylon, pp. 526—535.
2 Mv tr. p. 90 note 1.
3 Vi I. 155, II 375 ; Also *see* Att. 187.
4 Vi I 110 ; P.P. II 128. I do not agree with Maung Tin in taking *Hathikucchipabbhāra-Mahindaguhā-sadise senāsane* as 'in a dwelling like Mahindaguhā on Hatthikucchipabbhāra.'
5 Pap I 78.
6 Vi I. 120.
7 Smp I 83.
8 Ibid. I 100.
9 Mv 20.32.
10 Ibid. 20.45.
11 Pap. Sn 1024.
12 Pap. II 294.

certain piṇḍapātika thera. The king was greatly pleased at the saintly life of the bhikkhus there and gave alms to them daily, while he acted rather indifferently towards the bhikkhus at Anurādhapura.[1]

The famous Dīghabhāṇaka Abhaya who flourished during the reign of king Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa[2] lived in this vihāra. At that time a powerful bandit, Abhaya by name, the head of a large number of other bandits, encamped near Anurādhapura and lived by pillage and plunder. The people of Anurādhapura feared to cross the river Kalamba and the road to Cetiyapabbata was left untrodden. One day the bandits went to plunder the Cetiyapabbatavihāra. Dīghabhāṇaka Abhaya, hearing of their arrival, treated them with hospitality, and we are told that they, overcome by the kindness of the thera, were converted and thenceforth became protectors of the vihāra.[3]

The Mahāvihāra seems to have regained the prestige lost at the time of Saddhātissa, for we find that in the reign of king Bhātiya (38—66 A.D.) Cetiyapabbata occupies an ecclesiastical position less important than that of the Mahāvihāra, as is evidenced by an appeal made to the Mahāvihāra by a bhikkhu who was dissatisfied with a decision given by the chapter at Cetiyapabbata.[4]

Bhātiya's successor, king Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga caused a great festival called the Giribhaṇḍapūjā to be held at the Cetiyapabbata. The magnificence with which the festival was held is given in considerable detail in the Mahāvaṃsa.[5] It is said that a shower of hot cinders fell on this occasion and the Visuddhimagga attributes it to an action of Māra, the Evil One.[6] Mention is made several times of the thera Lenagirivāsī Tissa, who, as a result of his special merit, received the best gifts at this festival.[7]

Cetiyapabbata did not escape the notice of the Chinese traveller Fa Hien. He records " Forty *li* to the east of the No-Fear Shrine,[8] there is the sacred mountain Mihintale, with a shrine on it called Bhadrika, in which there are about two thousand priests. Among them is a Shaman, the Reverend Dharmagupta, whom all the people of this country respect and look up to. He has dwelt in a stone cell for more than forty years ; and by constant exercise of kindness of heart he has succeeded in so influencing snakes and rats that they will live together in the same cell without hurting one another."[9]

There are references to a few other theras but to whom we are unable to assign any definite date. They are :

1. Mahātissa thera, who attained Arahantship while on his way from Cetiyapabbata to Anurādhapura,[10]

2. Lomasa Nāga thera, already alluded to before, who was noted for the ability to bear with intense cold,[11]

1 SV 473. The reason for taking this attitude has already being discussed elsewhere.
2 A visit of this king to Cetiyapabbata is mentioned in SA I 34 and Pap Sn 653.
3 Smp II 474, Att 399.
4 Smp II 306.
5 Mv 34.75 foll.
6 Vi II 376.
7 Sum Vil II 534, 535 ; Pap II 397 foll. ; Man Sn 669, 670.
8 *i.e.*, the Abhaya (giri) vihāra.
9 H. A. Giles : Travels of Fa Hien, pp. 71, 72.
10 Vi I 20, 194.
11 Pap I 78.

3. The Paṃsukūlika thera of Pācīnakhaṇḍarājī, well known for the purity of his life,[1] and

4 & 5. two brothers who adhered strictly to the *dhutaṅga* practices.[2]

In connection with Cetiyapabbata mention should also be made of the village Dvāramaṇḍalā.[3] A large number of young men from this village are said to have entered the Order, following the lead of Abhaya, Devānampiyatissa's brother.[4]

Anurādhapura

From Mihintale we now turn to Anurādhapura. Being the capital of the country, there is good reason to suppose that the monasteries at Anurādhapura received greater attention from the Sinhalese monarchs than those at other places. Whenever the vastness of a place in India is desired to be shown, it is customary in the Commentaries to make Anurādhapura the standard of comparison, as it was the biggest city in Ceylon.[5] Not only was it the biggest city, Anurādhapura could also be rightly called the Madhyadesa[6] of Ceylon.[7] Fa Hien has recorded in words of admiration his impressions of the city. He says : " In the city there are many Vaisya elders and Sabaen merchants,[8] whose houses are stately and beautiful. The lanes and passages are kept in good order. At the head of the four principal streets there have been built preaching halls, where, on the eighth, fourteenth and fifteenth days of the month, they spread carpets, and set forth a pulpit, while the monks and commonalty from all quarters come together to hear the Law."[9] The Visuddhimagga, too, records an instance of a bhikkhu expressing his opinion that conditions at Anurādhapura were as good as they could have been in a place where the relics of the four Buddhas were deposited. In Lohapāsāda it is convenient to get a hearing of the Teachings. It is, as if it were, in the time of the Buddha."[10]

The Mahāvihāra

The most important and very likely the biggest[11] monastery in Anurādhapura was the Mahāvihāra. It was this monastery that preserved for us the teachings of Theravāda Buddhism. We have already seen under what trying circumstances the dwellers of the Mahāvihāra preserved those teachings from the devastating influence of the Vaitulyavādins. The vihāra was built by king Devānampiyatissa shortly after the arrival of Mahinda.[12] It was situated to the south of the city[13] and appears to have comprised more

1 Sum Vil III 1010.
2 Vi I 62.
3 Mv tr. p. 68 note 1.
4 Smp I 90.
5 *See* SA II 194 ; DhA I 398 ; ApA 219.
6 Madhyadesa (the Middle Region was, to the Buddhist, the most sacred portion of India).
7 Man II 37.
8 According to Legge these ' merchants were Arab forerunners of the so called Moormen who still form so important a part of the mercantile community in Ceylon.'
9 Legge : A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, p. 104.
10 Vi I 91.
11 As may be inferred from the references in DhA IV 74 ; Smp Sn II 314 ; Sum Vil II 578, etc.
12 The whole of Mv. ch. 15 is devoted to the description of the acceptance of the Mahāvihāra by Mahinda.
13 CuNiA 108. To the east of the city was the monastery Uttamadevi-vihāra. But of this we have no information given in the Commentaries.

than one building. Piyaṅguparivena, the name of one of the buildings is mentioned in the Sammohavinodanī.[1] There was also a separate pavilion for the discussion of questions (pañhamaṇḍapa).[2] Bhikkhus who came from other parts of the island to worship the Mahācetiya and Mahābodhi, used to make their temporary abode at the Mahāvihāra.[3] The fame of the monastery spread far and wide and people even from abroad went there in search of the pure teaching. The names of Visākha,[4] Pītimalla[5] and Buddhaghosa may be mentioned as examples.

Though the Mahāvihāra was one of the most flourishing monasteries in ancient Ceylon, it was however not without its periods of adversity. It was abandoned during the Brāhmaṇatissa famine and during the several Tamil invasions. Also during the reign of king Mahāsena the dwellers of the rival monastery Abhayagiri caused the king to harass the Theravādins at the Mahāvihāra.[6] It was in a prosperous condition when Fa Hien visited Ceylon. At that time there were 3000 bhikkhus living in it. The Chinese traveller describes in detail the cremation of the remains of an eminent bhikkhu who lived there and who was considered by the people as an Arahant.[7]

In the fifth century when Buddhaghosa wrote his Commentaries, the views held by the Mahāvihāra school were considered to be unmixed and unentangled with the views of other (heretical) sects,[8] and all the Commentaries including the Visuddhimagga, were written with their contents based on the tradition of the Mahāvihāra.[9]

Closely connected with the Mahāvihāra are the Lohapāsāda (the Brazen Palace), the Mahācetiya (also called Mahāthūpa, Soṇṇamāli-cetiya or Ruvanvālisāya) and the Mahābodhiṭṭhāna (the Place of the Great Bodhi Tree).

Lohapāsāda

The nine-storeyed Brazen Palace built in the early part of the first century B.C. by King Duṭṭhagāmaṇī was the *Uposathāgāra* (the house where the Vinaya activities were performed) of the Mahāvihāra. It rested on sixteen hundred monolithic columns of granite, and at present only these pillars remain to mark the spot where the once magnificent building stood. The construction of the Pāsāda is described in full in the Mahāvaṃsa.[10] The importance of this building was so great that Mahinda is said to have paid his reverence to the spot on which it was to stand at a later date.[11] There was always a large number of bhikkhus in the building,[12] and it was one that Anurādhapura could well boast of.[13]

1 SV 292.
2 SA Sn III 151.
3 SV 292, 446, 449, 451 ; Sum Vil III 1011.
4 Vi I 312.
5 Pap I 234 ; Sum Vil III 748.
6 These, as well as the conflicts which the two rival vihāras had, have been discussed in detail in earlier chapters.
7 Beal : Travels of Buddhist Pilgrims pp. 159, 160. The chief thera in the time of king Candamukha Tissa was also an Arahant. (Pap Sn 869).
8 Att 2.
9 *See* Vi I 2 ; Pap I 1 ; J I 1 ; UdA 2 ; Kv 1.
10 Mv ch 27. Also *see* H. W. Cave ; Book of Ceylon pp. 548—550.
11 Smp I 101.
12 DhA III 472.
13 Ibid. IV 74. For comparison bearing out its size, *see* SA I 74 ; UdA 101 ; Pap II 185.

Attached to the Lohapāsāda were two meeting places, the Ambalaṭṭhikā and the Pañcanikāyamaṇḍala. The former was situated to the east of the building. Mention is made twice of the Dīghabhāṇakas assembling there to recite the teachings. Once they recited the Brahmajāla Sutta[1] and on the other occasion, when king Vasabha was also present, they recited the Mahāsudassana Sutta.[2] We are unable to say exactly what the specific purpose of the Pañcanikāyamaṇḍala was. Perhaps it was a common meeting place of the Bhāṇakas of all the five Nikāyas of the Sutta Piṭaka. We have records of more than one meeting held at this place. Tipiṭaka Cūlābhaya thera once proclaimed that he would preach here from the three Piṭakas.[3] The Dīghanikāya Tīkā tells us that a *Dhammasaṅgīti* (a recital of the Doctrine) was held at the same place under the auspices of the Mahāvihāra.[4] The Sumaṅgalavilāsinī records that it was customary for the bhikkhus residing in the country to the north of the Mahavāligaṅga to come to the Mahāvihāra to spend the rainy season. At the end of their stay they would assemble at the Pañcanikāyamaṇḍala in the Lohapāsāda. Here those who knew the Texts would recite them and those who knew the Commentaries would recite the Commentaries. If during the course of the recitation anyone made a mistake, it was immediately pointed out and rectified.[5]

We have also a few references to different theras preaching the Doctrine at the Lohapāsāda. Maliyadeva, a thera of fame in the day of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, preached the Chachakka Sutta.[6] His contemporary Mahāvyaggha is also mentioned (on another occasion) to have performed certain Vinaya rites in the same building.[7] Other theras who expounded the Doctrine here and whose names are recorded in the Commentaries, are Tipiṭaka Cūlanāga.[1] Tipiṭaka Cūlābhaya[8] and Gāmavāsī[9] Sumanadeva.[10]

Mahācetiya

Of a more permanent structure than the Lohapāsāda was the Mahācetiya, which, too, was built by king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī.[11] It was considered unique in the quantity of relics enshrined in it, and hence it was supposed to be the "*Asadisa Mahāthūpa*", (The Great Cetiya without a parallel).[12] Its size too, was considered to be the biggest that a cetiya could be expected to be built of.[13] According to tradition the relics that were to be enshrined in this cetiya was reserved for that purpose by Mahākassapa thera when king Ajātasattu deposited the relics of the Buddha, a short time after the latter's passing away.[14] Further, it was held that the Buddha, in one of his visits, sanctified the site of the cetiya by taking his seat there,[15] and also that

1 Sum Vil I 131.
2 Ibid. II 635.
3 Vi I 96.
4 Pap I 197, foot-note 1.
5 Sum Vil II 581.
6 Pap Sn 1024.
7 Man II 247.
8 SA II 276.
9 Vi I 97.
10 Att. 31.
11 An account of its construction was given in an earlier chapter. For further details *see* Mv chh. 28—31 ; Cave : Book of Ceylon, pp. 550—561. An idea of its architecture can also be obtained from SV 293.
12 Pap Sn 699.
13 Man II 5 ; Sum Vil II 578.
14 Sum Vil II 611.
15 Smp I 89. Also *see* I 92.

Mahinda venerated the place by offering it flowers.[1] According to another tradition the Mahācetiya is one of the places which would be visited by the relics just before the *Dhātuparinibbāna* (the extinction of the relics) which is to take place in the future.[2] There is no doubt at all that this cetiya was one of the most sacred treasures of the early Ceylonese Buddhists. Keeping the cetiya in good condition[3] was considered as a privileged duty not only of the layman but of the bhikkhu as well. The Papañcasūdanī gives an instance of a thera who took part in the white-washing of the cetiya.[4] The only other object of worship that was perhaps on a par with this was the Mahābodhi. There are many references to people going to worship the cetiya and the Bodhi Tree.[5] In this connection mention may also be made of an interesting episode of a minister (*amacco*) who offered jasmine flowers to the cetiya and shared the merit with Yama, the ruler of the Underworld. As a result of this, the story proceeds, he was able to escape the torments of hell and to take birth in a world of the devas.[6] The Sāratthappakāsinī tells us that the sight of the Mahācetiya was capable of producing sublime emotions in the hearts of devotees and that numberless bhikkhus attained Arahantship by developing and reflecting on those emotions.[7]

Bodhi Tree

The Bodhi Tree dates from the time of Mahinda. The Samantapāsādikā describes how it was brought to Ceylon and was planted in the Mahāmeghavana at Anurādhapura.[8] It is, as far as we know, the oldest historical tree in the world.[9] We have already mentioned in connection with the Mahācetiya how bhikkhus used to come from various parts of Ceylon to offer their veneration at this tree. This practice continues down to the present day. Even the non-Buddhist Tamil invaders, who from time to time, destroyed many a vihāra, left this tree untouched. As Cave observes : " that it escaped destruction by the enemies of Buddhism throughout many invasions is perhaps attributable to the fact that the same species is held in veneration by the Hindus who, while destroying its surrounding monuments, would have spared the tree itself."[10]

The Commentaries, excepting the Samantapāsādikā, do not throw any light on the history of this sacred tree or on the buildings that were erected round it in course of time.[11]

Thupārāma

To the south of the city of Anurādhapura stood the Thūpārāma-vihāra,[12] the dāgäba of which exists up to the present day.[13] The latter was built

1 Ibid. 101.
2 Sum Vil III 899 ; Pap Sn 882.
3 It was neglected only in such dissastrous times as that of the Brāhmaṇatissa famine. At that time, as pointed out elsewhere, it was neglected to the extent that castor plants grew on the compound of the cetiya. (SV 446)
4 Pap II 403.
5 *See e.g.*, SV 292 ; Pap Sn 698 ; Vi I 143.
6 Man II 231 ; Pap Sn 955.
7 SA Sn III 151.
8 Smp I 90—100. Also *see* Mv ch. 19 and Cave's Book of Ceylon pp. 542—544.
9 *See* Ceylon by J. E. Tennent pp. 613—615.
10 Cave : Book of Ceylon p. 544.
11 A Mahābodhidvārakoṭṭhaka (gateway of the Mahābodhi) is, however, mentioned in Sum Vil III 1011 and Man Sn 523.
12 Mv tr. p. 118 note 2. Also *see* SA I 222 ; UdA 238.
13 *See* Cave : Op. cit. pp. 538, 539.

by king Devānampiyatissa, and is situated 400 yards north of the Ruvanvälidāgäba.[1] Its construction and how the relics were brought to be enshrined in it are given in detail in the Samantapāsādikā.[2] According to tradition the site of this cetiya was sanctified by the Buddha by entering into the trance called the *nirodhasamāpatti* at this place[3] and it was also believed that relics of all the four Buddhas (*i.e.*, Kakusandha, Konāgamana, Kassapa and Gotama) were deposited at the same place.[4] This belief resulted in making the Thūpārāma cetiya also one of the most venerated spots in Anurādhapura.[5] We find it mentioned along with the Mahābodhi and the Mahācetiya as places worshipped by a large number of bhikkhus who came to Anurādhapura after the Brāhmaṇatissa famine came to an end.[6] The sanctity of the place was enhanced by the planting of a sapling produced from a seed of the sacred Bodhi Tree.[7]

Among other references in the Commentaries to events connected with this place may be mentioned :

(1) a remark about two theras of Anurādhapura, who entered the Order at the Thūpārāma and one of whom was noted for his absence of attachment to property,[8] and

(2) an episode connected with a thera who is said to have met at its gate two Yakkha children.[9]

Further, a gift made by king Gajabāhu to the community of monks at Thūpārāma is mentioned in the Pālu Mäkiccāva Rock-inscription.[10]

Issarasamaṇārāma and Vessagiri

Two other important vihāras in Anurādhapura were the Issarasamaṇārāma[11] and the Vessagiri-vihāra. They were included in the five great monasteries (*pañca mahāvihāra*), the other three being the Mahāvihāra, the Thūpārāma and the Cetiyavihāra. But we are unfortunate in having hardly any information in the Pāli Commentaries about these two monasteries. As far as I am aware there is no reference to Vessagiri and there is only one to Issarasamaṇārāma. And this, too, is not a very important one by itself, being an incidental reference to the planting of a sapling of the sacred Bodhi Tree there by king Devānampiyatissa.[12]

The construction of the latter vihāra is attributed to Devānampiyattissa.[13] It is situated about a mile to the south of the Mahāvihāra.[14] As found at present it is a ' curious ' building carved out of the natural rock.[15] Vessagiri, too, was built by the same king.[16] From the silence of the Commentaries

1 Mv tr. p. 230 note 2.
2 Smp I 83 foll.
3 Ibid. p 89..
4 Vi I 91 ; Smp I 86.
5 Vi 91.
6 SV 451.
7 Smp I 100.
8 J. V. 254.
9 Pap Sn 713.
10 Ep Zey. I 208 foll.
11 Now called Isurumuniya.
12 Smp I 100.
13 Mv 20.14.
14 Mv tr. p. 133 note 2.
15 *See* Cave : Book of Ceylon pp. 554, 555.
16 Mv 20.15. Wickramasinghe gives a description of this place, in connection with the inscriptions found there. *See* Ep Zey. Ipp. 10 foll.

on these two monasteries we have room to infer that, perhaps, they did not occupy an important position prior to the compilation of the Sinhalese Commentaries.

Abhayagiri vihāra

Outside the northern gate of the city stood the Abhayagirivihāra.[1] It was built by king Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya on the place where existed a monastery of Nigaṇṭhas. As Geiger has shown, tradition appears to have confounded the name of the Abhayagiri-dāgäba with that of the Jetavana-dāgäba and, therefore, the site of the former monastery must be sought where, the now so-called Jetavana-dāgäba stands.[2] The Abhayagirivihāra, being the headquarters of the Vaitulyavādins in Ceylon, played a very important part in the history of Buddhism in the island. This question has been dealt with in detail in the chapter on the "Growth of the Dissentient Schools."

Maricavaṭṭi-vihāra

In the south-west part of Anurādhapura and to the west of the Mahāvihāra stood the Maricavaṭṭi-vihāra, the dāgäba of which exists today under the name of Mirisavāṭiya.[3] The vihāra and the cetiya were built by king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī.[4] A festival on a very large scale was held by the king at the consecration of the vihāra. As it was mentioned earlier in another occasion, an account of an incident which occurred at this festival is given in several of the Commentaries.[5]

Dakkhiṇagiri-vihāra

The Dakkhiṇagiri-vihāra, which for some time was the headquarters of the Sāgaliya Sect, was, as is indicated by its name (*dakkhiṇa*—south), situated to the south of the city. This vihāra is mentioned in the Commentaries[6] as well as in the Mahāvaṃsa.[7] It was built by king Saddhātissa.[8] At one time it was famous as an abode of saints.[9] The thera Kāla Buddharakkhita belonged to a neighbouring village and when he grew up he entered the Order at this vihāra.[10] Buddharakkhita, we are told, became the teacher of a large number of bhikkhus but, on the advice of his preceptor, went to Vātakasitapabbata-vihāra and there by strenuous meditation became an Arahant.[11]

Other vihāras mentioned in the Commentaries as belonging to Anurādhapura are :

(1) Chātapabbata—The mountain by this name is situated to the south of Anurādhapura.[12] It was here that the treasures were found which Devānampiyatissa sent to his friend Asoka.[13] A young bhikkhu residing in this

1 *See* Beal : Travels of Buddhist Pilgrims pp. 150, 151.
2 Mv tr. p. 235 note 1 and p. 269 note 1. Also *see* Wickremasinghe's discussion of the Jetavanārāma Inscription of Malu-tissa. Ep. Zey. I 253.
3 Mv tr. p. 179 note 2.
4 For details *see* Mv ch. 26.
5 Pj II 71 ; CuNiA 79 ; ApA 128; Pap II 145.
6 Man II 172.
7 Mv. 33.98.
8 Ibid. 33.8.
9 Vi I 120.
10 Pap II 293.
11 Ibid. II 294.
12 J. P. T. S. 1888. p. 35.
13 Smp I 74.

monastery is mentioned as having come to grief as far as his higher life was considered, on listening to a woman's voice.[1]

(2) Kalambatittha-vihāra—a monastery on the banks of the Kalamba river.[2] The Sāratthappakāsinī gives an account of fifty bhikkhus who went to this vihāra to spend the rainy season. They decided among themselves not to talk to each other till they attained Arahantship and, it is said, within the three months of the rainy season they all fulfilled their ambition.[3]

(3) Kuṭelitissa Mahāvihāra—Only the name of this vihāra is mentioned in the Commentaries. A thera who went on a pilgrimage to Anurādhapura to worship the Mahācetiya and the Mahābodhi is mentioned as having arrived at this vihāra on his return journey.[4]

(4) Pācinakhaṇḍarājī—a woodland solitude to the east of Anurādhapura. It was a place very suitable for solitary meditation (*paṭisallānasāruppaṃ ṭhānaṃ*). The Visuddhimagga gives an account of a thera who lived here for a long time and paid a visit to a friend of his at Anurādhapura.[5] The Sumaṅgalavilāsinī[6] and the Manorathapūranī[7] mention another thera who lived in this place and went to the city in search of a garment as allowed in the Vinaya rules.

(5) Paṭhamacetiya—the cetiya built on the first spot to which Mahinda and his companions came when they arrived at Anuradhapura. This place was to the east of the city.[8] Here, too, was planted a sapling grown from a seed of the sacred Bodhi Tree.[9]

Ariṭṭhapabbata

To the south-east of Anurādhapura and at a distance of about 30 miles from it[10] is the mountain Ariṭṭhapabbata, the modern Riṭigala. A vihāra called Makulaka was built at the foot of this mountain by king Sūratissa (187—177 B.C.).[11] Though no reference to any monastery here is made in the Commentaries it deserves our attention as some interesting inscriptions which may be assigned to about the first century B.C. have been found in this place.[12]

Nāgadīpa

The maritime region that lies to the north-east of Anurādhapura was known as Nāgadīpa (the island of the Nāgas).[13] A part of the present Northern Province also may have been included in the same. Perhaps it was a district which was predominantly, though not exclusively, inhabited by the Nāga people. According to the Jātakaṭṭhakathā Yakkhas[14] and Supaṇṇas,[15]

1 Man I 26.
2 Called also the Kadamba river ; it is the present Malvatu Oya to the south of Anurādhapura. *See* P. L. C. p. 27 note 2.
3 SA Sn III 155.
4 SV 293 ; Pap Sn 699, 700.
5 Vi I 90, 91.
6 Sum Vil III 1010, 1011.
7 Man Sn 523, 524.
8 Smp I 79. Also *see* Mv tr. p. 95 note 2.
9 Smp I 100.
10 As may be judged from the map of ancient Ceylon in Geiger's translation of the Mahāvaṃsa (facing page 1). Also *see* Ibid. p. 72 note 3.
11 Mv 21.6.
12 Ep. Zey. I 135 foll.
13 Mv tr. p. 6 note 2.
14 J II 128.
15 J III 187.

too, lived there. It was customary for merchant vessels to call at Nāgadīpa to obtain water and fuel.[1] The Akitti Jātaka tells us that near Nāgadīpa there was another (island) known as Ahidīpa, the name of which was later turned to Karadīpa.[2] Probably this was the ancient name of one of the small islands off the northern coast of Ceylon. These references in the Jātakaṭṭhakathā, most likely, carry us to a date earlier than the colonization of the island by Vijaya and his followers.

Coming down to the period after the conversion of the island, we find in Nāgadīpa a cetiya that attracted worshippers from many parts of Ceylon. The famous Tipiṭaka Cūlābhaya thera went there with a retinue of five hundred bhikkhus to worship the cetiya.[3] In the time of Lenagirivāsī Tissa thera another band of fifty bhikkhus went there for the same purpose.[4] We are not in a position to say definitely which this cetiya was. There was one by the name of Rājāyatana-cetiya[5] and another at the Jambukola-vihāra built by king Devānampiyatissa.[6]

Jambukola

Jambukola was the chief sea port of Nāgadīpa, and probably of the whole island. The branch of the Bodhi Tree was brought by ship to this port and from there was taken to Anurādhapura.[7] During the Brāhmaṇatissa famine, when the bhikkhus sought to go over to India, they assembled at Nāgadīpa and took ship at Jambukola-paṭṭana,[8] and when the thera Tissadatta came from India to Ceylon he, too, disembarked at the same port.[9]

The Samantapāsādikā informs us that when Tissadatta arrived at the Jambukola Vihāra he saw Tissa, a young bhikkhu, cleaning the compound of the cetiya, and from the manner in which the latter did the work, concluded that Tissa was one free from the defilements.[10] Very likely this Tissa is identical with Tissa the son of Punabbasu-kuṭumbika, mentioned in the Sammohavinodanī.[11] The importance of the Jambukola monastery may be judged from the fact that one of the eight saplings sprung up from seeds of the sacred Bodhi Tree was planted there and also from the fact that pilgrims from as far a country as the Yonaraṭṭha came to worship its cetiya.[12] The name of one of the monasteries (if not of *the* monastery) was Vālikā-vihāra.[13]

Mahātittha

According to the Sammohavinodanī, the bhikkhus who went to India during the great famine disembarked on their return journey at Mahātittha (the Great Port),[14] the modern Mantoṭa opposite the island Mannar.[15] Perhaps Mahātittha was another name for the port at Jambukola.

1 J III 187
2 Ibid. III 189.
3 Ibid. IV 238. Also *see* CpA 19.
4 SV 457.
5 Pap II 398 ; Man Sn 669 ; Sum Vil II 534.
6 Sum Vil III 899. Also *see* Mv 1.54
7 Mv 20.25.
8 Smp I 98.
9 SV 446.
10 Smp Sn II 377.
11 Ibid.
12 SV 389.
13 Smp Sn II 377.
14 SV 389.
15 Ibid. 448.
16 Mv tr. p. 60 note 1 ; J.P.T.S. 1888 p. 67.

Kalyāṇi

Coming from Mahātittha along the coast towards the south we arrive at the mouth of the Kalyāṇi river (*Kalyāṇi-mukha-dvāra*), the modern Kelaṇi-gaṅga in the District of Colombo. About six miles towards the inland and lying by the river is the famous Kalyāṇi-cetiya. According to tradition the Buddha sat down on the throne of jewels offered to him by the Nāgas. It is also believed that in the cetiya is enshrined that throne of jewels.[1] Further, according to the Samantapāsādikā the Buddha entered into *nirodhasamāpatti* on that same spot.[2] We are unable to say definitely when the present cetiya was built. Cave gives the probable date as the thirteenth century.[3] If there is any truth in the tradition attached to the episode concerning the Nāga king Maṇiakkhika, the site of the present cetiya is perhaps not identical with that of the original one, for Maṇiakkhika's residence is said to have been at the mouth of the river, the place now called Mutwal (Sinhalese Modara <Muvadora <Mukhadvāra).[4] Associated with traditional sanctity, the cetiya, in times of old as now, attracted many devout worshippers. The Sammohavinodanī mentions an incident that happened when about thirty bhikkhus were returning after worshipping the cetiya.[5]

Kalyāṇi was a centre of Buddhism from very early times—perhaps from the days of Maṇiakkhika, the Nāga king, if there is any historical truth in the Mahāvaṃsa legend attached to this person. The name of the monastery occurs for the first time in the Mahāvaṃsa at about the middle of the second century B.C. Already at that time it was a well organized vihāra and hence its establishment must have been earlier.[6] Maliyadeva, who lived during the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, is reported to have preached the Chachakka Sutta at two places in Kalyāṇi, namely, at the Nāgamahāvihāra and in the village Kalakacchagāma.[7]

In the Commentaries we have the names of a few other theras connected with the Kalyāṇi vihāra ; *e.g.*, Mahātissa[8] and Godha. The latter is described as a thera noted for his punctuality.[9] Several Commentaries mention also an episode connected with a young bhikkhu of this vihāra who went in his begging round to the village Kāladīghavāpidvāra and, as a result of the same, came to disaster afterwards.[10] The accounts in the several Commentaries differ somewhat from one another. The Apadāna Aṭṭhakathā records that this young bhikkhu was a reciter of the Dīghanikāya.[11] Another thera, Dīghasumma by name, lived in the vicinity of the mouth of the river. A fisherman, it is said, gave him alms on three occasions and, as a result of this merit, was reborn in a happy state.[12] It is interesting to note that this place (now Mutwal) is even today a chief fishing centre in Colombo.

1 *See* Mv 1.44 foll.
2 Smp I 89.
3 Cave : Book of Ceylon, p. 202.
4 *See* Dīp. 2.42 foll.
5 SV 295, 296 ; Pap Sn 701. For another instance of bhikkhus going for the same purpose ; *see* Pap II 145.
6 *See* Mv 22.13 foll.
7 Pap Sn 1025.
8 Pj II 6, 7 ; Vi II 689.
9 Pap I 122.
10 Pj II 70 ; Man I 23 ; Pap II 144 ; CuNiA 78.
11 ApA 128.
12 Pap Sn 1008.

Malaya

The central mountainous district from which the Kalyāṇi river takes its source was known in ancient days as Malaya-raṭṭha. In times of foreign invasion it was often a place of refuge of the Sinhalese kings. It afforded also shelter to Buddhist monks when, as often happened, living in Anurādhapura was fraught with peril.

Sumanagiri or Adam's Peak

Sumanagiri, the mountain from which flows, among other rivers, the Kalyāṇi-nadī, is at present one of the most sacred spots to the inhabitants of Ceylon. Its modern name is Śri-pāda-kanda (the Mountain of the Auspicious Foot) or Adam's Peak as the Europeans call it. It is believed that the Buddha, on his third visit to Ceylon, planted his foot-print on the peak of this mountain.[1] The Hindus regard the mark on the summit resembling a human foot as the foot-print of Śiva, 'and the Mahommedans, borrowing their history from the Jews, as that of Adam.'[2] Its importance as a place of pilgrimage seems to have increased with the passage of time.

The Mahāvaṃsa states that in the time of king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī the thera Malayamahādeva (or Maliyadeva) received some millet-gruel from the king and shared it with nine hundred bhikkhus on the Sumana mountain.[3] The episode contains the miraculous element in it, but there is little doubt that it is based on tradition considerably earlier than the date of the composition of our Mahāvaṃsa. It is therfore likely that there was a monastery on the mountain.

A reference in the Commentaries, too, adds strength to this supposition. The Manorathapūraṇī tells us that Dīghajantu, the Damiḷa, gave a red silk cloth as an offering to the Ākāsa-cetiya at Sumanagiri-vihāra.[4] This is a valuable piece of information both for what it says and as being, as far as I know, the only Aṭṭhakathā reference to this sacred mountain. From the Mahāvaṃsa we know that Dīghajantu was a warrior of the Tamil (Damiḷa) king Eḷāra, the powerful enemy of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī.[5] The word *Akāsa* (sky) Cetiya shows clearly that there was a shrine on the peak of Sumanagiri. So high and abrupt in its ascent is the mountain that to one standing at its base the shrine on the peak appears to be situated in the sky, and "*Akāsa Cetiya*" is indeed a deserving name for it. The article, too, offered by Dīghajantu is of significance. Even today one of the commonest offerings which the Tamil pilgrim takes to this sacred spot is a piece of red cloth—preferably silk, if he can afford it—with which he covers the foot-print.

Fa Hien also mentions in his records the existence of the foot-print.[6] It is, however, not till the time of king Vijayabāhu I of the eleventh century A.D. that we find Sumanakūṭa (called also Samantakūṭa) as a place of regular pilgrimage.[7]

1 Mv 1.77.
2 For further details *see* Cave : Book of Ceylon, pp. 452—461.
3 Mv 32.49.
4 Man II 230. Also *see* Sn 955.
5 Mv 25.54.
6 Beal : Travels of Buddhist Pilgrims, p. 150. Also *see* an article on this subject by Bea in J.R.A.S. (New Series) Vol. 15, pp. 338 foll.
7 Mv 60.65.

Mutiyaṅgana-vihāra

The Mutiyaṅgana[1] vihāra, situated in the present District of Badulla[2] which coincides in some parts with the ancient Malaya, is also a place of historic importance. It was believed that the Buddha, on his third visit, entered into *nirodha-samāpatti* on the spot where the Mutiyaṅgana cetiya stood later.[3] According to the Papañcasūdanī the thera Maliyadeva preached the Chachakka Sutta here.[4]

Paṅgura-vihāra

Another place in the Malaya district[5] mentioned in the Commentaries but about which we do not possess at present sufficient data to fix its exact geographical position is the Paṅgura vihāra in Hatthibhogajanapada. The Papañcasūdanī records an instance of a young bhikkhu of this monastery reciting the Mahādhammasamādāna Sutta.[6]

Rohaṇa

We now come to the southern part of Ceylon known in ancient days as the province of Rohaṇa. Buddhism was introduced to this region during the very first year of Mahinda's arrival in Ceylon. The nobles of the two villages in Rohaṇa, namely, Kājaragāma and Candanagāma, are reported to have come to Anurādhapura to take part in the festival held by king Devānampiyatissa on the occasion of the bringing of the southern branch of the Bodhi Tree by Saṅghamittā ;[7] and according to the Samantapāsādikā, a short time later, saplings grown from the seeds of that branch were planted in these two villages.[8] The religion thus introduced into Rohaṇa was placed on a firm footing by Mahānāga, a younger brother of Devānampiyatissa.[9]

On several occasions Rohaṇa and Malaya served as places of refuge to the defenders of the faith in Ceylon. Thus when the greater part of the island was devastated by Tamil invaders in the second century B.C. these were the only two provinces that were safe from their attacks. The once resplendent light of Buddhism was almost wholly extinguished in Anurādhapura by the Tamils but they were unable to extend their harmful influence towards the south. Referring to Rohaṇa of that period the Mahāvaṃsa remarks : "In Rohaṇa there are still princes who have faith in the three gems."[10] Nearly a century later when Ceylon was visited by the devastating Brāhmaṇatissa-peril, the bhikkhus who did not cross over to India sought refuge in the south.[11] Again when the Theravādins were harassed by king Mahāsena at the instigation of the dwellers of Abhayagiri, headed by Saṅghamitta, the Theravādins left the Mahāvihāra and went over to Rohaṇa and Malaya and waited there till better times came.[12] Thus from the day of Mahinda, Buddhism has flourished and has been preserved there up to the present time in a manner unparalleled in any other part of the island. The firm

1 Also called Mutiṅgana (Pap Sn 1024).
2 Codrington : A Short History of Ceylon, p. 28.
3 Smp I 89.
4 Pap Sn 1024.
5 *See* Mv 35, vv 26, 29, 44.
6 Pap II 377.
7 Mv 19.54, 55.
8 Smp I 100.
9 Mv 22.9
10 Ibid. 23.13.
11 As may be inferred from the episode concerning Cūlasiva thera (SV 446).
12 Nikāyasaṅgraha, p. 13.

faith of the inhabitants of Rohaṇa may be gauged from the fact that in the beginning of the last century, after three hundred years of strenuous missionary efforts on the part of three European powers, the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English, there were hardly any converts among the Sinhalese in the District of Matara, which covers a considerable portion of the ancient province of Rohaṇa.[1]

Among the many centres of learning in Rohaṇa, the two most outstanding were the Tissamahārāma and the Cittalapabbatavihāra (the modern Situlpavvehera), both of which were founded by king Kākavaṇṇa Tissa in the second century B.C.[2]

Tissamahārāma

Of these two vihāras Tissamahārāma may be considered to have been the more important one in ancient days. It held a position in the southern half of Ceylon which corresponded to that held by the Mahāvihāra in the northern half. The bhikkhus living in the country to the south of the Mahavāli-gaṅga used to assemble at the Tissamahārāma to spend the rainy season in the same way as those living to the north of the river assembled at the Mahāvihāra. While assembled there the bhikkhus would revise the Texts and Commentaries they had already learned.[3]

The monastery was a very prosperous one. When the Brāhmaṇatissa famine broke out, we are told that there was grain in the vihāra to last three years. According to the Sammohavinodanī there were at that time twelve thousand bhikkhus living in Tissamahārāma.[4] There was, however, one disadvantage there then, as now, namely, the scarcity of water during a certain period of the year. Thus we find it recorded that a thera went over to the Cittalapabbata-vihāra because of this reason.[5]

Among the theras who lived at Tissamahārāma may be mentioned Mahāsiva of Gāmantapabbhāra. He knew the three Piṭakas together with their Commentaries and was the teacher of eighteen groups of monks. He strove hard and became an Arahant by reflecting on the spotless purity of his life after he had obtained the *upasampadā* ordination.[6] The theras Maliyadeva and Dhammadinna came to this vihāra to preach the Doctrine. The former preached on one occasion, the Chachakka Sutta.[7] Hearing the widespread fame of Dhammadinna the bhikkhus of Tissamahārāma sent him an invitation to come to them and preach the Doctrine. But, it is said that when he arrived at the vihāra, the resident bhikkhus did not treat him in the manner they ought to have done.[8] On another occasion he preached the Apaṇṇaka Sutta at the same vihāra.[9] The Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā refers to another incident that took place in the reign of king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. The reference is to the wife of Lakuṇṭaka Atimbara, a minister of this

1 Information obtained from a document written in 1807 by Sir T. Maitland, English Governor of the maritime provinces of Ceylon from 1805—1811.—London Public Record Office, C.O. 54. Vol. 25.
2 Mv 22.23.
3 Sum Vil II 581.
4 SV 445.
5 Pap II 91.
6 Man I 40—42.
7 Pap Sn 1025.
8 Pap I 185. Also *see* Man I 42.
9 Vi II 392.

king. She joined the Order of Buddhist nuns and, while listening to a discourse on the Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta at the Tissamahārāma vihāra, she attained the First Path.[1]

Mahāgāma

The ancient city which stood near the place where the ruins of the Tissamahārāma vihāra lie on the left bank of the Māgama-river was known as Mahāgāma. 'The village at the mouth of the river still bears the name Māgama.'[2] This city is well known in the history of Ceylon as the birth-place of her greatest monarch, Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. From the Commentaries we learn that the people of Mahāgāma were noted for their piety. When the Dīghabhāṇaka thera Abhaya preached the Mahā-Āriyavaṃsapaṭipadā, the Papañcasūdanī tells us, 'the whole of Mahāgāma' (*sabbo Mahāgāmo*) came to hear him.[3]

A very touching account of a poor man named Dārubhaṇḍaka Mahātissa, who lived in Mahāgāma in the time of king Kākavaṇṇa Tissa and who with great difficulty procured the means to supply delicious food to the bhikkhus, is given in the Manorathapūraṇī. It is said that with twelve kahāpaṇas obtained by hard work during six months in a sugar mill he gave alms to Piṇḍapātiya Tissa thera of Ambariyavihāra. This thera, too, learning how and why Tissa worked hard to earn that money, increased his efforts and became an Arahant in order that the gift of Tissa may bear ample fruit.[4] We are told that the thera received this gift when he was on his way to worship the cetiya at Mahāgāma. This cetiya is perhaps the Mahānāgadāgaba which still exists in the ruins of Mahāgāma.[5]

Ambariya-vihāra

From this account it appears that Ambariyavihāra was in Rohaṇa and probably near Mahāgāma. Another well known thera who lived in this vihāra was Piṅgala Buddharakkhita. Several Commentaries narrate an account of a peasant of Uttaravaḍḍhamāna[6] who received the *sikkhāpadas* (the five steps in self-discipline taken by a lay Buddhist) from the thera mentioned above. One day when the peasant went to a forest he was caught in the coils of a monstrous serpent. He had a weapon with him, with which he could have killed the serpent, but, remembering the sikkhāpadas taken, he preferred to let himself be devoured by the reptile. The Commentaries tell us that in this moment of danger the purity of the peasant's heart was so great that the serpent left him and crept into the forest.[7] The thera, Piṅgala Buddharakkhita, is also stated to have lived near the village Uttara,[8] but we are not able to say definitely where this village was.

Cittalapabbata

Fifteen miles north-east of Tissamahārāma lie the ruins of the Cittalapabbata-vihāra.[9] As was mentioned before, this monastery was built by king Kākavaṇṇa Tissa, and at one time it was one of the two most flourishing

1 DhA IV 50, 51.
2 Mv tr. p. 146, note 5.
3 Pap I 79.
4 Man II 60—65.
5 *See* Mv tr. p. 147, note 1.
6 Antaravaḍḍhamāna in SA II 150.
7 Att 103 ; SA II 150 ; Pap I 204.
8 Pap Sn 978.
9 Mv tr. p. 148, note 2.

vihāras in Rohaṇa, the other being the Tissamahārāma. In the time of the Brāhmaṇatissa famine there were in this monastery also twelve thousand resident bhikkhus.[1] The Papañcasūdanī describes it as an exceedingly crowded (*accantasaṅghiko*) place,[2] and according to the Visuddhimagga many bhikkhus have become Arahants in that place.[3] It was so well known as an abode of sages that it became unsuitable for quiet meditation during the day time as people used to assemble in large numbers to pay their homage to the sages.[4]

Concerning the theras who lived in this vihāra, too, we have valuable references in the Commentaries. The famous Maliyadeva preached the Chachakka Sutta here.[5] A thera contemporaneous with Maliyadeva and known by the name of Cūlasumma of Niṅkaponnapadhānaghara lived in this monastery and was for a long time under the false belief that he was an Arahant.[6] The thera Visākha, who came from Pāṭaliputta and entered the Order at the Mahāvihāra, journeyed towards the south and arrived at Cittalapabbata. Here he attained Arahantship and spent the rest of his life.[7]

Incidents in the lives of several monks belonging to this monastery are mentioned in the Commentaries as illustrations of the development of various ascetic qualities, which will be seen from the following examples : Padhāniya thera could bear with the intensest form of bodily pain and yet keep his mind calm and concentrated ;[8] a piṇḍapātika thera presented his valuable alms-bowl to assuage the anger of another who hated him ;[9] two theras purified their minds to such an extent that they obtained the power of clairvoyance and could see objects in the dark ;[10] a thera by the name of Cittagutta possessed such previous training in meditation that the sign of the *pīta-kasiṇa* (yellow device) arose in him when he saw a heap of *pattaṅga* flowers offered in the monastery[11] ; and another thera who was able to know the exact length of his span of life performed the extraordinary task of passing away while walking to and fro on the terrace of the vihāra.[12]

We have had occasion earlier to refer to a thera who came from Tissamahārāma to Cittapabbata because of the scarcity of water in the former place.[13] This thera came with a sāmaṇera who, while clearing a cave for his teacher, recited the Saṃyuttanikāya and practised the *tejo-kasiṇa* (fire-device) meditation. It is said that before long the sāmaṇera became an Arahant and, when he passed away, a cetiya was built enshrining his relics. This cetiya was known as Tissattheracetiya and was extant when the Commentary on the Majjhimanikāya was compiled.[14] The Manorathapūraṇī bears also

1 SV 445.
2 Pap II 91.
3 Vi I 127.
4 Ibid. I 120.
5 Pap Sn 1024, 1025.
6 SV 489.
7 Vi I 313.
8 Pap I 79. Also *see* Ibid. I 275 ; SV 264.
9 Vi I 306.
10 Ibid. II 634.
11 Ibid. I 173.
12 Ibid. I 292.
13 Pap II 91, 92. Also *see* Man I 44.
14 Ibid.

testimony to the amazing devotion of a lay woman who came to the Cittalapabbata vihāra to listen to a preaching of the Dhamma.[1]

Side by side with people of high spiritual attainments, we find also in the same place those of a different nature. We are told that once a resident bhikkhu of this vihāra drew a circle at the entrance of the dining hall, thus cunningly suggesting to the attendants of the monastery that the monks should receive cakes of that size. Such an irregular act, the Samantapāsādikā says, was never heard of at Cittalapabbata and all the bhikkhus remonstrated against it.[2] Another amusing account of a dull-witted monk of this Vihāra, who entered the Order in his old age and acted as an *Upaṭṭhāka* (attendant) of an Arahant is recorded in more than one Commentary.[3] Further, mention is made of a young bhikkhuṇī of Cittalapabbata, who died as a result of passion.[4] Instances of this nature are, however, seldom found in connection with this monastery and form the exception and not the rule.

Koṭapabbata vihāra

A monastery not far from Cittalapabbata was the Koṭapabbata-vihārā. The Visuddhimagga mentions a thera known as Tissa belonging to this vihāra and who knew exactly the end of his span of life.[5] A sāmaṇera of the same vihāra is mentioned in the Mahāvaṃsa as having fixed three slabs of stone as steps to the courtyard of the Ākāsacetiya, the ruins of which are to be seen today in the neighbourhood of the Cittalapabbata monastery.[6]

Kājaragāma

About ten miles to the north of Tissamahārāma was the Kājaragāma[7]-mahāvihāra (now Kataragama).[8] It is about the same distance, but in a different direction, from Cittalapabbata. A sapling grown from the seeds of the sacred Bodhi Tree was caused to be planted there by Devānampiyatissa.[9] In this place there is a dāgāba known now as the Kirivehera, which is traditionally said to have been founded by Mahānāga. ' On some of the bricks fallen down from the dome there are Brāhmī letters of about the first century B.C. inscribed as masons' marks. And, ... one of the inscriptions at the place records its enlargement in the first or second century A.D. Therefore this thūpa may well be ascribed to a very early date, though we may not accept the tradition in its entirety.'[10] In one of the inscriptions found here mention is made of a thera named Nada and of a monastery called Akujaka.[11]

Gāmeṇḍavāla Mahāvihāra

In the vicinity of both Cittalapabbata and Kājaragāma there was another monastery known as the Gāmeṇḍavāla Mahāvihāra. A hunter by the name

1 Man II 250.
2 Smp III 681.
3 Att. 350 ; Pap I 22 ; CuNiA 54 ; SA II 252.
4 SV 498 ; Sum Vil III 994.
5 Vi I 292 ; Pug. Pañ. Com. in J.P.T.S. 1914 p. 186.
6 Mv tr. p. 148 note 4. A Koṭipabbatamahāvihāra is mentioned in DhA IV 50. Perhaps this is the same as the one under our present discussion. A thera Anula by name, lived there in the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī.
7 Kātaragāma in Smp I 100.
8 Mv tr. p. 132 note 1.
9 Smp I 100.
10 Ep. Zey. III 214.
11 Ibid. p. 215.

of Milakkha Tissa (Tissa, the Savage) entered the Order under the guidance of Cūlapiṇḍapātika Tissa of this vihāra. After he became a monk Milakkha Tissa was very zealous and attended diligently to the duties at Cittalapabbata, Gāmeṇḍavāla and Kājaragāma on successive days. Once he heard the Aruṇavatiya Sutta from a sāmaṇera at Pācīnapabbata and, reflecting on that Sutta, he became an Anāgāmī. Later he attained Arahantship.[1] The Gāmeṇḍavāla vihāra is also mentioned as one of the places where Maliyadeva thera preached the Chachakka Sutta.[2]

Talaṅgara-vihāra

The Talaṅgara[3] vihāra, too, was situated in the neighbourhood of the locality under our discussion at present. This vihāra is mentioned in the Aṭṭhakathās as the abode of Dhammadinna thera about whom we have already made mention several times.[4]

Dīghavāpi

In the northern part of the province of Rohaṇa lies the district of Dīghavāpi. A cetiya and a monastery were built there by Saddhātissa who during the reign of his elder brother Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, was in that district for many years busily engaged in the promotion of agriculture.[5] The cetiya was considered to be a sacred one as there prevailed the belief that the spot on which the cetiya stood was visited by the Buddha.[6] How a sāmaṇera who was engaged in white-washing the cetiya slipped down but was miraculously saved from death is described in the Sāratthappakāsinī.[7] Dīghavāpi is also mentioned as another place where Maliyadeva preached the Chachakka Sutta.[8] On one occasion it was announced that a Mahājātakabhāṇaka thera would preach at Dīghavāpi the Mahāvessantara Jātaka, and we are told that a sāmaṇera went there from Tissamahārāma covering on foot the long distance of nine yojanas.[9]

There are a few other monasteries belonging to Rohaṇa but which I am unable to locate in relation to other known localities. They are :

(1) Bherapāsāna vihāra—The Manorathapūraṇī describes how certain young bhikkhus of this vihāra deceived an ignorant man and made him carry a huge load of grass.[10]

(2) Cūlanāgalena—A large number of bhikkhus is said to have attained Arahantship while meditating in this place.[11] There was a monastery by the name of Cūlanāgapabbata vihāra.[12] It is possible that Cūlanāgalena was a cave or a group of caves at the Cūlanāga mountain (*pabbata*).

(3) Kālavallimaṇḍapa—The place of residence of Mahānāga thera who lived in the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. It appears as if it was about six hours' journey by foot from Guttasālagāma, the present Buttala.[13]

1 Man I 35 foll. ; Pj II 236 ; SA I 332 ; II 273. According to SA II 274 he became an Anāgāmī by hearing a verse in the Dhammapada and not the Aruṇavatiya Sutta (S I 156 foll.).
2 Pap Sn 1024.
3 Also called Talaṅgaratissapabbata (Pap I 184).
4 SV 389, 489 ; Man I 42 ; Vi II 392, 634 ; Pap I 184.
5 *See* Mv 24.58 ; 32.2.
6 Smp I 89.
7 SA I 341.
8 Pap Sn 1024.
9 Man II 249.
10 Ibid. II 347.
11 Vi I 127.
12 Mv 34.90. Also *see* Mv tr. p. 245, note 1.
13 Att 398.

(4) Kuṭimbiya vihāra—According to the Manorathapūraṇī a young bhikkhu in this monastery was well known for his contentment.[1]

(5) Nāgamahāvihāra—Probably this was the vihāra of the same name built by king Mahānāga, a younger brother of Devānampiyatissa.[2]

(6) Tulādhārapabbata-vihāra—This was a famous centre of learning in Rohaṇa in the first century A.D. Tipiṭaka Cūlābhaya was sent from Anurādhapura to study the *Ācariyavādas* under Mahādhammarakkhita thera who lived in this monastery.[3]

(7) Uccatalaṅka[4]—The thera Mahānāga lived here in the first century B.C. Probably this place was not far from Talaṅgara (or Talaṅka) and from Tissamahārāma.[5]

We have so far dealt with places which could be either identified with those known at the present day or located with some degree of certainty in relation to them. There is, however, a considerable number of references in the Commentaries which I am unable to include in the one group or the other. Perhaps with the further discovery of inscriptions and the publication of hitherto unpublished Sinhalese texts it may become possible to locate many of them. The places in question are as follows :

(1) Ālindaka—Phussadeva thera, of whom we had occasion to mention in an earlier chapter, lived in the place known as Ālindaka.[6]

(2) Ariyakoṭi—A thera by the name of Mahādatta lived here. His virtues were so great that, it is said, even hostile deities could not terrify him.[7]

(3) Antarasamudda—The Samantapāsādikā refers to a certain event that followed the visit of a bhikkhu from the Antarasamudda-vihāra to Cetiyagiri. This took place during the reign of king Bhātiya.[8]

(4) Devaputtamahāraṭṭha—The thera Piṇḍapātika Tissa of Devaputtamahāraṭṭha is mentioned as a thera who knew exactly the end of his span of life.[9]

(5) Doṇuppalavāpigāma—A thera of this village was noted for his ability to bear with insults flung upon him.[10]

(6) Galambatittha-vihāra—Fifty bhikkhus who spent the rainy season in this monastery decided among themselves not to speak to each other until they became Arahants. With this firm resolve in mind they strove diligently and fulfilled their ambition.[11]

(7) Gaggaravāliya-aṅgaṇa—Pītimalla, who came from India and entered the Order at the Mahāvihāra, did his meditation here and finally became an Arahant.[12]

1 Man II 30.
2 SV 407 ; Mv 22.9.
3 Vi I 96.
4 Uccavālika in Vi II 634.
5 SV 489.
6 SA Sn III 154 ; Pj II 55 ; SV 352 ; ApA 120.
7 Pap I 160.
8 Smp II 306, 307.
9 Vi I 292.
10 Pug. Pañ. Com. in J.P.T.S. 1914, p. 184.
11 SV 353 ; Pj II 57 ; ApA 121.
12 Pap I 234.

(8) Girivihāra—According to the Manorathapūraṇī the thera Cullapiṇḍapātiya Tissa of Girivihāra saved a Tamil fisherman of the village Madhuaṅgaṇa from being reborn after death in an unhappy state.[1] In the same vihāra there lived also a pupil of Tipiṭaka Cullasumana thera[2] who flourished in the first century A.D.

(9) Girikaṇḍavihāra—Mentioned in the Visuddhimagga[3] and the Atthasālinī.[4] Vattakālaka was a village in the neighbourhood of this monastery.[5]

(10) Hatthikucchi vihāra—described as a well-known (*lokasammata*) monastery. When a bhikkhu resided here, people came to pay their reverence to him, taking him to be an Arahant.[6] In the Visuddhimagga a Hatthikucchi-pabbhāra[7] is mentioned along with Mahindaguhā.[8] Perhaps this cave was also a part of the same vihāra. An inscription at Mihintale belonging to the eleventh century A.D. has a reference to an Āt-vehera (Pāli *Hatthi-vihāra*). This evidence combined with the fact that Hatthikucchipabbhāra is mentioned along with Mahindaguhā which is at Mihintale makes it probable that there is some close geographical connection between the two.

(11) Kāḷhāla—An opinion of the thera Summa of Kāḷhāla is mentioned with those of some others as a therasallāpa (discussion of the theras).[9]

(12) Kaṇikāravālika-samudda vihāra—The thera Sāketa Tissa went to this vihāra to obtain a quiet time for meditation.[10]

(13) Karaṇḍakola—Mentioned as the place of residence of a thera by the name of Mahādeva.[11]

(14) Kassakalena—A thera Mahāmitta lived in the cave Kassakalena. Many of the Commentaries have preserved an account of a poor woman who provided this thera with dainty food, while she was content with mere gruel of coarse vegetable and rice. The thera, it is said, came to know of this fact and acted in such a way as to bring ample reward to the faithful upāsikā.[12]

(15) Khaṇḍacela-vihāra—There was a *padhānaghara* (meditation-house) by the name of Kaṇikāra attached to this vihāra.[13]

(16) Koraṇḍaka-vihāra—A young bhikkhu went from here to Rohaṇa to receive his education. The detachment of this bhikkhu from all family ties is highly praised in the Visuddhimagga.[14]

(17) Kurundaka—A thera, Phussamitta by name, is mentioned as a resident of Kurundaka.[15] If Codrington's identification of Kurunda tank with the present Giants' Tank is correct,[16] this vihāra was probably situated near Mannar.[17]

1 Man II 215.
2 Sum Vil II 514.
3 Vi I 143.
4 Att. 116.
5 Ibid. 116.
6 Vi I 120.
7 Pabbhāra—A cave in a mountain.
8 Vi I 110.
9 Sum Vil III 882.
10 Pap II 140 ; Man I 77.
11 Man Sn 611.
12 SV 279 ; Man II 59 ; Pap I 294 ; SA Sn III 136.
13 Pap I 78.
14 Vi I 91.
15 Man I 53, 59.
16 A Short History of Ceylon, p. 35.
17 Geiger : Cūlavaṃsa translation Vol. I, p. 66 note 6.

(18) Kupuveṇa-vihāra—The Papañcasūdanī gives an account of a thera who went with a sāmaṇera to worship cetiyas in different places. When they arrived at Kupuveṇa-vihāra, the sāmaṇera went out to obtain his meals and there having seen a weaver's daughter, a girl exceedingly beautiful and in the prime of youth, fell in love with her and fell, too, from the high spiritual development which he had acquired. Consequently he gave up the monk's life and, the account proceeds, spent his days under very unsatisfactory conditions.[1]

(19) Kuṭāli-vihāra—One of the places where Maliyadeva thera preached the Chachakka Sutta.[2]

(20) Lokantara-vihāra—Datta, a young bhikkhu of Lokantara-vihāra, is said to have developed the *odāta-kasiṇa* (white-device) meditation as a result of the mental calm he obtained by cleaning the compound of a cetiya.[3] A Lokandara is mentioned as a place visited by Maliyadeva.[4] If these two names are identical, there is reason to suppose that the monastery was in Rohaṇa as the position of Lokandara in a list of vihāras given in the Papañcasūdanī[4] is between Dīghavāpi and Gāmeṇḍavāla, both of which, we have already seen were in that district.

(21) Mahākarañjiya-vihāra—The thera Mahātissa of this monastery is said to have had the power of knowing beforehand the exact moment of his passing away.[5]

(22) Mūluppalavāpi-vihāra—According to the Papañcasūdanī an Arahant thera of this vihāra was greatly misunderstood by one of his co-residents. Out of compassion for the latter the thera made him understand the purity of his life.[6]

(23) Nāgapabbata-vihāra—Mentioned in connection with a thera called Padhāniya Tissa.[7]

(24) Pañcaggalalena—Another instance of a young bhikkhu who lost the powers of his spiritual attainment is seen in the case of Tissa of Pañcaggalalena. He was enticed by the song of a smith's daughter in Girigāma and consequently left the Order to marry her.[8]

(25) Piyaṅgudīpa (Panicum Island).—'The monks living there enjoyed a reputation for particular holiness,'[9] and the Mahāvaṃsa speaks very highly of them.[10] This Chronicle and the Commentaries mention several miraculous incidents said to have happened in connection with the theras of Piyaṅgudīpa. The thera Mahānāga, according to the Visuddhimagga, was unmolested by a fire that burned to ashes a hall in which he was sitting in meditation;[11] and according to the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, Sakka, the chief of the gods, came personally to invite the monks of Piyaṅgudīpa in connection with their spending of the *vassa* season.[12]

1 Pap Sn 700, 701.
2 Ibid. 1024.
3 Smp Sn II 377.
4 Pap Sn 1024.
5 Vi I 292.
6 Pap II 385.
7 Vi I 127.
8 Pap II 144 ; ApA 128 ; Pj II 70 ; CuNiA 78.
9 Mv tr. p. 166, note 4.
10 Mv 24.25 ; 25.104 ; 32.52.
11 Vi II 706.
12 Sum Vil II 648.

(26) Potaliya-vihāra—A thera Dattābhaya by name, lived here. He was the elder brother of Catunikāyika Tissa thera of Kolita-vihāra.[1] The Atthasālinī quotes the name of a Dattābhaya thera as an example of those people who have strong likes and dislikes, but are 'intelligent and keen as adamant in wit.'[2] It is, however, not possible to say whether these two names referred to the same person.

(27) Soṇagiri Mountain—At the foot of this mountain there was a monastery known as the Pañcalamahāvihāra.[3] The thera Soṇa of this monastery caused his father, a man who had spent all his life up to this time as a hunter, to join the Order in spite of the latter's unwillingness to do so. We are told that the thera was, at last, successful in turning his father's mind away from sinful acts and thus paving the way for him to have a peaceful death.[4]

(28) Sudhāmuṇḍaka—A young bhikkhu of Sudhāmuṇḍaka-vihāra is mentioned as still another monk who fell from his higher life as a result of listening to a woman's voice.[5]

(29) Vadhatalanagara-vihāra—The Sāratthappakāsinī gives an account of two brothers Mahānāga and Cūlanāga of the village Vadhatalanagara (gāma), who joined the Order and lived at Cittalapabbata for thirty years. After they became Arahants they returned to Vadhatalanagara to pay a visit to their mother.[6] From this account it appears that this village was in Rohaṇa.

(30) Vajagaragiri-vihāra—The Papañcasūdanī has preserved for us the description of the daily routine of Kāḷadeva, a thera who lived in Vajagiri-nagara-vihāra. During the *vassa* season he performed the duty of striking the gong in the monastery. He was so accustomed to do this at the proper time that it was not necessary for him to set the tube of the *watch-machine* (*na ca yāmayanta-nālikaṃ payojeti*), whereas others were in the habit of setting it. At the end of the first watch of the night he would get up and strike the gong. He was so accurate in doing this that simultaneously with his striking the gong, the watch-machine, too, would begin to strike (*yāma-yantaṃ paṭati*). In the morning after returning from his begging round he would keep the bowl in the dining hall and go for quiet meditation to the place where the bhikkhus spent the day-time (*divāvihāraṭṭhānam*). When it was time for meals the bhikkhus would look at the time-post (*kālatthambha*—perhaps a pillar on which a sun-dial was fixed) and send some bhikkhu to fetch Kāḷadeva. The latter was so clever in sensing the time that he always met the bhikkhu on his way.[7] This account is both interesting and useful in that it shows us that at least fifteen centuries ago there were in use in Ceylon skilful contrivances for the measurement of time. The *yāma-yanta* was evidently a kind of alarm-clock.

1 Man II 173.
2 Att. 268. The Expositor II 356.
3 The name of this vihāra is given as Pipphalivihāra in SV 439 and as Pacelivihāra in Pap Sn 887.
4 SV 439 ; Man II 17 Pap Sn 887.
5 Man I 26.
6 SA II 166.
7 Pap I 122, 123.

The Buddhist Life

It is clear from what was discussed in the preceding chapters—and especially in the last one—that Buddhism had, by the time the Commentaries were written, spread throughout the length and breadth of the country. It was this one faith that prevailed from Dīghavāpi in the east to Kalyāṇī in the west, from Nāgadīpa in the north to Mahāgāma in the south ; and there is not the least doubt that it had its influence in every department of the life of the Sinhalese nation. The laymen—comprising the kings, the nobility and the common folk—considered it their bounden duty to help the monks by bestowing on them food, clothes and other requisites, and the monks in turn considered it their duty to instruct and enlighten the laity in matters spiritual pertaining to this life and to the hereafter. In this chapter we shall, therefore, discuss, in general outline, how the Buddhist faith affected the everyday life of the inhabitants of Ceylon. Our observations on the subject may be brought roughly under three broad headings ; *viz.*, (1) the life of the bhikkhu, (2) the life of the layman, and (3) the relationship between the bhikkhu and the layman.

1. *The Life of the Bhikkhu*

We have seen how shortly after the advent of Mahinda, people, both men and women, left the home-life in large numbers to don the yellow robe. Perhaps, as was pointed out in an earlier chapter, Buddhism was sufficiently well known in Ceylon and the soil was already prepared for Mahinda to sow the seed of monasticism. This, in my opinion, was the reason why men and women, both great and small, rich and poor alike, entered the monastic life by the hundreds. Before long the Buddhist Order became a highly respected and influential organization in the island. The causes that led to this state of affairs need not be repeated here. The Commentaries are full of statements which show how monasticism spread. Buddhaghosa remarks that were thūpas to be erected enshrining the ashes of ordinary (*puthujjana*) bhikkhus, the island of Ceylon would not have sufficient room for them.[1] At one time, it is said, there was not a bhikkhu in Ceylon who had not attained to the Paths of Salvation.[2] In Anurādhapura alone, a mahāthera is made to say, more bhikkhus attained Arahantship than there were grains of sand in the compound of the Mahācetiya.[3] According to another Commentary there was no seat in the resting-houses of the villages of Ceylon but that a bhikkhu had sat on it and attained Arahantship there.[4] The country was so full of monasteries that there was one long peal of bells from Nānāmukha to Licchikali, from Kalyāṇi to Nāgadīpa ;[5] and many were the vihāras such as the Abhayagiri, the Cetiyapabbata and the Cittalapabbata, each of which had twelve thousand bhikkhus.[6] These statements are not to be

1 Man Sn 607.
2 SV 431, 432.
3 SA Sn III 151.
4 Pap I 257. The same statement is made in ApA 119, Sum Vil I 188 and Pj II 53.
5 SA II 230. I am unable to locate the first two places.
6 Sum Vil II 478.

taken literally. Due allowance should be made for the use of figurative language. But when all such allowance is made we are still left with the picture of a Ceylon dotted with monasteries and with the yellow robe shining everywhere.

With the growing numbers of the bhikkhus and in the absence of one supreme head it would have been in the nature of things for the organization to become unwieldy and for the bhikkhus to grow lax in their discipline. Laxity on the part of certain individuals there indeed was, but, as far as we can see from the Commentaries, the saṅgha on the whole preserved a high degree of purity. It is possible for the objection to be raised with regard to this point that the Commentaries were the work of bhikkhus and hence facts unfavourable to them may have been purposely left out. To those who read the Commentaries carefully it becomes evident that this charge of possible conscious omission is not true, for the aim of the commentators was not to give a history of the saṅgha but to elucidate points of difficulty in the Doctrine. Local illustrations were brought forward now and then to drive the explanations home into the pupils, and in these were mentioned virtues as well as weaknesses of several Ceylonese monks and laymen.

We are therefore led to assign the long sustained purity of the saṅgha to the faith that the monks had in the Master as well as in his teachings. Buddhaghosa explains several methods used by the bhikkhus to check impure thoughts and to lead a pure life. One of the methods was for a bhikkhu to advise himself thus : " By birth you are not one of a low order. You are descended from the unbroken line of Mahāsammata and born in the dynasty of king Okkāka. You are the grandson of the great king Suddhodana, and you are a younger brother of Rāhulabhadda. It ill becomes one such as you, a son of the Jina (Conqueror, *i.e.*, the Buddha) to live in idleness."[1] This passage shows clearly the close relationship that the bhikkhus were taught to have towards the Buddha.

The Commentaries have many episodes which depict the intensity of such faith—not blind faith that made one believe without investigation all that came under the name of the Doctrine, but that faith which was living, which revealed the true meaning of the teachings, which enthused one to seek the truth and live the life. A young bhikkhu of Tissamahārāma, it is said, came the long distance of nine yojanas to Dīghavāpi to hear the preaching of a Mahājātakabhāṇaka thera.[2] A bhikkhu at Gavaravāla-aṅgana endured for one full night a painful scorpion-bite lest by his moving from the place he should disturb others listening to the Doctrine.[3] Another thera, Mahāphussadeva of Ālindaka, shed tears and wept because, in spite of his attempts, he could not become an Arahant during the time limit he fixed for himself.[4] The thera Cittagutta lived in the cave Karaṇḍaka for over sixty years, but so restrained was he in the use of his five senses that during the whole of that time he did not look at the beautiful paintings on the walls of the cave.[5] A young bhikkhu of Koraṇḍaka vihāra, on his return from Rohaṇa whither he had gone to receive his education, did not make himself known

1 Man II 65.
2 Ibid. II 249.
3 Ibid. II 248.
4 Pap II 369.
5 Vi I 38.

to his parents though he visited them daily for three months as he did not wish to receive any special treatment from them.[1] These are only a few of many such examples.

We are also told of many bhikkhus who subjected themselves to rigorous discipline in order to attain complete emancipation from the defilements of the heart. They observed rigorous practices such as the *gatapaccāgatavatta*[2] and also the ascetic practices known as the *dhutaṅgas*.[3] The *gatapaccāgatavatta* is such that if an impure thought as rises in a bhikkhu while he is walking, he strives to get control over it by remaining in the posture of standing, or, if necessary, of sitting down at the same place ; and if he is unable to destroy it then and there, he puts off his journey and returns to his abode. The thera Mahāphussadeva practised this for nineteen years before he became an Arahant.[4] For seven years Mahānāga of Kālavallimaṇḍapa used only the two postures of standing and walking and then for a period of another sixteen years practised the *gatapaccāgatavatta*.[5] The thera Sosāṇika Mahākumāra, it is said, lived meditating in a burial ground for sixty years.[6] Another thera at Cetiyapabbata observed the *ekāsanikadhutaṅga*[7] for fifty years.[8]

Not only were there bhikkhus rigorous in discipline there were also those well versed in the canonical literature. It is not rarely that we read about monks who could recite from memory long Texts such as the Majjhima and the Saṃyutta Nikāyas from beginning to end without making any mistake. Majjhimabhāṇaka Reva thera, we are told, knew the Majjhimanikāya so well that he could recite it from memory though he was out of touch with it for twenty years.[9] In a similar manner the thera Nāga of Kāraliyagiri could recite the Dhātukathā after an interval of eighteen years.[10] While clearing a cave for the use of his teacher, the sāmaṇera Tissa recited the whole of the Saṃyuttanikāya.[11] It was this proficiency in their learning that enabled the bhikkhus to hand down the Texts by word of mouth until they were committed to writing in the first century B.C. The traditional practice of a pupil remaining with his teacher as long as the latter lived, no doubt, helped in a great measure to obtain a high degree of proficiency.[12] Unfortunately we are not in a position to know any details of the methods of teaching in those days. There is one passage—repeated many times—in the Commentaries which throws some light on the manner in which instruction was imparted. The passage in question mentions a class held in the courtyard of the Mahācetiya. It consisted of young bhikkhus and bhikkuṇīs, and the bhikkhuṇīs were seated behind the bhikkhus, the distance separating them being less than an arm's length.[13] Though the customary method of

1 Ibid. I 91.
2 Lit. ' the observance of one who has gone and returned.'
3 For details of these practices *see* Vi ch. 2.
4 Pap I 257. Sum Vil I 189, ApA 120, SV 352, Pj II 55, 56.
5 Pj II 56.
6 Man I 77.
7 For details *see* Vi I 69.
8 Pap II 140, Man I 77. These are but a few of a large number of similar references in the Commentaries.
9 Vi I 95.
10 Ibid. I 96.
11 Pap II 91.
12 *See* Smp I 264.
13 Pap I 264, II 145 ; SA Sn III 159, Man I 27.

learning was by listening to one's teachers, each bhikkhu carried with him in his knapsack a small hand-book (*mutthipotthaka*) in which were written the virtues of the Buddha and the Dhamma. The chief purpose of this was to read it whenever an undesirable thought arose in the mind of the bhikkhu.[1]

The literary qualifications that teachers of various grades should possess are given in the Samantapāsādikā.[2] and we have already dealt with these in the chapter on the Bhāṇakas.

We have also in the Commentaries some information with regard to the every-day life of the bhikkhu. It was the duty of the resident bhikkhus of a vihāra to keep it tidy and in good condition. 'The courtyards of the cetiya and the Bodhi Tree are well cleansed. The brooms are properly placed. Water for the use (of the bhikkhus) is well kept.' Such is the description of a monastery in which the residents live in harmony and peace.[3] Sometimes even the white-washing (*sudhā-kamma*) of the cetiyas was done by the bhikkhus.[4] There were also bhikkhus who were appointed to look after the repairs of the community building. They were called the *Saṅgha-bhārahārakā* (bearers of the burden of the community).[5] The personal property of a bhikkhu, as shown in the Commentaries, was not much. Besides the three robes and the alms-bowl, the following were also included in it :

1. *Mutthipotthaka* (Hand-book), in which as mentioned before, the virtues of the Buddha and the Dhamma were written.

2. *Araṇi, etc.*	..	Apparatus for producing fire
3. *Sipāṭikā*	..	Razor-case
4. *Arakantaka*	..	Thimble (?)
5. *Pipphalaka*	..	Pair of scissors
6. *Nakhacchedana*	..	Nail-clipper
7. *Sūci*	..	Needle

All these articles were carried by a bhikkhu in his knapsack (*thavikā*).[6]

We have discussed at the end of the last chapter the daily routine of the bhkhhus at the Vajagaragiri monastery as described in the Papañcasūdanī. Though we do not have any definite evidence to prove it, it is quite likely that bhikkhus of the other vihāras, too, had a somewhat similar time-table.

Much emphasis is laid on the importance of attending on the sick in a monastery. It was so important that Buddhaghosa says that even in the case of a bhikkhu devoted to meditation, he should first look after the sick, if there are any in the monastery. If a teacher is seriously ill, a pupil bhikkhu should attend on him even as long as the former lives.[7]

2. *The Life of the Layman*

We now come to the life of the layman. Much of what has to be said in the present discussion has been dealt with in earlier chapters by way of incidental references here and there. We shall now attempt to present some of them in a connected form.

1 Pap II 91.
2 Smp Sn II 34, 35.
3 Pj II 57.
4 Pap II 403.
5 Vi I 94.
6 Pap II 91.
7 Vi I 94.

One who reads the early history of Ceylon cannot but be struck by the large number of Sinhalese kings whose lives were embodiments of faith and piety. Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, Saddhātissa, Bhātiya and Saṅghabodhi may be cited as examples. The religious life of the common folk, too, is not less worthy of notice as will be seen from the following. Tissa, a lay follower of the Buddha, disobeyed king Saddhātissa, who with the intention of testing the former's faith, ordered him to kill a fowl. The king threatened Tissa with punishment by death for disobeying the order, but Tissa was not to be moved by such threats.[1] The peasant of Uttaravaḍḍhamāna, who took the five precepts at the feet of Piṅgala Buddharakkhita, was ready to allow the python that caught him in its coils to swallow him rather than kill the dreadful serpent.[2] Cakkaṇa, another faithful observer of the precepts, did not destroy the life of a hare even to save that of his own mother.[3]

Protection of the life of every sentient being, which is a basic ethical principle in Buddhism, was practised through the length and breadth of the land on more than one occasion under the influence of the early Sinhalese monarchs. In the time of king Bhātiya eating beef was an offence punishable with fine.[4] Āmaṇḍagāmaṇī made the whole country vegetarian by issuing a royal decree forbidding the killing of any kind of living being.[5] Vohāraka Tissa instituted a law making corporal punishment illegal.[6]

There is good reason to suppose that Buddhism had also a strong influence in minimizing the abuses of the caste-system. A comparison of the system as it exists today in India and in Ceylon bears testimony to this fact. Untouchability as it is found in some parts of the sub-continent is unknown among the Sinhalese inhabitants of Ceylon. The system was, however, not altogether done away with. We find mention made of places named after people belonging to different grades of society, *e.g.*., Kevaṭṭavīthi (Fishermen's Street) in Anurādhapura[7] and Vessagirivihāra[8] (the monastery so called because 500 young men belonging to the *vessa* or the merchant caste entered the Order and dwelt there). Perhaps the system was already too deeply rooted in the people when they accepted the faith or perhaps it survived because of economical reasons.

Some form of slavery, too, seems to have existed in ancient Ceylon. The Samantapāsādikā has recorded an account of a bhikkhu who was the son of a slave woman in Anurādhapura. She eloped with a man and having fled from Anurādhapura lived with her husband in Rohaṇa. There she gave birth to a son, who in due course entered the Order and obtained the higher ordination. Later he discovered that he was the son of a slave woman and, as it was against the Vinaya rules for a slave to enter the Order unless he had received permission from his master,[9] he went to Anurādhapura and obtained the necessary permission.[10] This account shows that to the master belonged not only the slaves but their offspring as well.

1 SA Sn III 49.
2 Pap I 204, Att. 103, SA II 150.
3 Pap I 203, Att. 103, SA II 150.
4 SV 440.
5 Mv 35.6 foll.
6 Ibid. 36.28.
7 Pap Sn 713.
8 Mv 20.15.
9 Oldenberg : Vinaya Piṭaka, Vol. I, p. 76.
10 Smp Sn II 178.

Unfortunately we do not have sufficient light on the problem of slavery in ancient Ceylon to find out how far Buddhism helped to destroy its evils and abuses.

Buddhism entered so intimately into the activities of everyday life that we find even songs sung by the ordinary folk to be pregnant with deep religious sentiment. Thus, it is said, sixty bhikkhus attained Arahantship by hearing a Sinhalese song sung by a girl who was keeping watch over a rice field.[1] We are also told that the Ceylonese people were in the habit of saying '*Namo Buddhānam*' (Salutations to the Buddhas) when they coughed or sneezed.[2] This was very likely due to a belief that something auspicious should be said after either of these acts, especially after that of sneezing.[3]

3. *The Relationship between the Bhikkhu and the Layman*

(*a*) *Attitude of the layman to the bhikkhu*

From the king down to the poorest man each one tried to the best of his ability to perform the duty of helping to maintain the sāsana. We have already had occasion many times to refer to the piety of the ordinary poor peasant and how he strenuously sought to help the monk who led a righteous life. Suffice it to repeat that even poor men and women who could only eke out a hand to mouth existence tried all possible means to keep the bhikkhus in comfort.[4] Even in times of famine when the people lived on leaves they did not fail to share their scanty provisions with the bhikkhus.[5]

(*b*) *Attitude of the bhikkhu to the layman*

The monk who was thus looked after did not fail to perform his duty by the lay supporter. His duty consisted predominantly in teaching the people as to the way of right living. It is not easy to overestimate the importance of the part played by the bhikkhu in bringing about in Ceylon that high standard of culture which she enjoyed for a period whose parallel in duration is not to be found in many other countries in the world.

In addition to the informal elucidation of the teachings which, no doubt, the bhikkhus imparted to the laymen whenever the latter desired it, there was also an organized and more formal method of preaching. The earliest mention of this organization goes back to the time of king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. He instituted "the preaching of religious discourses to be kept up in the vihāras in various parts of Laṅkā, supporting the ministers of religion who were gifted with the power of preaching." Later kings, too, extended their liberality to promote the same cause. King Buddhadāsa went to the extent of fixing salaries for the preachers in different places.[6] The preachings usually lasted a whole night.[7] It was customary for a spacious hall to be built in a village for conducting such preaching. People then assembled at this building and listened to the discourses.[1] The procedure adopted at a *dhamma-desanā* (preaching of the Doctrine) is given in the Manorathapūraṇī. The *divākathikathera* (the thera who preached during the day-time) finishes his discourse in the evening. Then comes the turn of the *padabhāṇaka* (reciter of the words). It is difficult to say what the exact function of the padabhāṇaka was. Perhaps he recited word by word the scriptural passages which was to be expounded next. Finally comes the chief preacher for the night, who explains the Doctrine in detail.[2] In some places the *dhammadesanā* was held at regular intervals, especially during the *vassa* season.[3] The announcement of a preaching was sometimes made by beat of drum.[4]

Though there is no direct evidence to prove that during the period under our discussion the village monastery was also the village school, there is to be seen a tendency towards the task of the teacher falling upon the bhkkhu. The monks were naturally more educated than the lay people, and the latter used to approach the bhikkhus to obtain even such information as the dates of the month.[5] In later times the education of the Sinhalese children and even of the adults became a sacred duty of the monk. How far the bhikkhus helped the lay folk in the art of writing we are unable to say. If the practice adopted by Duṭṭhagāmaṇī of recording his meritorious deeds[6] was a general one, we shall not be wrong in assuming that the ancient Sinhalese possessed a very satisfactory and complete system of education.

The pious or learned bhikkhu was regarded with very high esteem. There is an instance of a thera being appointed by the king to decide cases that arose not only among the clergy but among the laity as well.[7] The history of Ceylon is, however, not without instances when this influence possessed by the saṅgha was directed towards channels which cannot be very well regarded as proper to the monk-life. A bhikkhu who has left the entanglements of the world is not expected to take part in politics, especially in political issues where a slight misjudgment may involve the destruction of life. When Saddhātissa died, his younger son, Thūlathana, was elected king in preference to Lañjatissa the lawful heir. The ministers did this on the strength of the support of the bhikkhus. But this interference of the bhikkhus brought destruction on Thūlathana and much worry to the bhikkhus themselves, for hardly had six weeks elapsed when Lañjatissa seized the government by overpowering his brother and for a long time after that he continued to harass the bhikkhus.[8] A few years later it was as a direct result of the interference of a certain thera that Vaṭṭagāmaṇī received the support of his angered ministers to fight the Tamils.[9] No doubt the unity thus brought about was of great moment in the struggle to regain the lost freedom of the country, but at the same time it cannot be forgotten that it caused the death of many a Tamil foe. Again, in the time of king

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1 Pj II (2) 397, SA I 273.
2 Sum Vil III 875.
3 Such a belief exists in most Christian and other countries, too, at the present day. According to the Encyclopaedia Brittanica, "A Venerable and widespread belief survives in the custom of saying God bless you' when a person sneezes. The Hindus say 'live' to which the answer 'with you' is given (E. S. Taylor, Primitive Culture, I, 101). A sneeze was considered a sign or omen from the gods by the Greeks and Romans; it was one of the many common every day occurrences which if coming at an important moment could be interpreted as presaging the future. There are many allusions to it in classical literature.........................There are references to it in Rabbinical literature, and it has been found in Otaheisto, Florida and the Tonga Islands (Enc. Brit. Vol. 25 Article on 'Sneezing.')
4 Man II 59 foll.
5 SV. 447.
6 Mv 37.149.
7 SV 348; Pap II 294.

1 SV 348.
2 Man II 249.
3 Ibid. II 248.
4 Vi I 96.
5 Pj II 56, Vi I 187, Sum Vil I 190.
6 Man II 214, Mv 32.25.
7 Smp II 307.
8 Mv 33.17 foll.
9 Ibid. 33.74.

Kaṇirajāṇu Tissa we hear of sixty bhikkhus charged of high treason.[1] The adventures of the bhikkhus into the realm of politics were occasional and few and there is no reason to suppose that these affected in any considerable degree the detached and quiet life of the monk in general.

A few words remain to be said on the more intimate social relations between the bhikkhu and the layman.

Buddhaghosa explains in his Visuddhimagga—and there is little doubt that he based his statements on the accepted views as were found in the older Sinhalese Commentaries—how a monk should behave towards his kinsfolk. " Parents," he says, " should be tended like the preceptor. Indeed, even if they are placed in royal authority, they yet expect service from their son, the latter should serve them. If they have no medicine, he should give them his own. If he has none, he should seek for it in going round for alms and give it to them. But as for his brothers and sisters, he should compound medicine belonging to themselves and give it to them. If they possess no medicine he should give his own for the time being, and should take it when given afterwards, but should not press for it, if it is not given. He should not make medicine for, nor give it to, his sister's husband, who is no kinsman. But he should give it to his sister, saying ' Give it to your husband.' And the same with one's brother's wife. But their sons being kinsmen, it is proper to make medicine for them."[2]

In the Samantapāsādikā the same point is explained in greater detail. Besides the parents there are ten others whom it behoves a bhikkhu to tend in case of their illness. They are : elder brother, younger brother, elder sister, younger sister, maternal aunts junior and senior to the mother, paternal uncles junior and senior to the father, father's sister and maternal uncle's wife. With regard to the children of these ten relations, no Vinaya rule is violated by giving medical treatments to them and to those connected with them up to the seventh family circle. If the husband of a sister or the wife of a brother is ill, and if he or she is a (blood) relation, the monk may give medicine to him or her directly. If not, the medicine should be given through the monk's sister or brother or through the children of one of them. The monk should act in the same manner as this towards the parents of his teacher, but in giving them medicine he should first transfer its ownership to the teacher and then bestow it on the latter's parents. A teacher, too, should act in like manner towards the parents of his pupil.

If, however, a stranger, a robber, a chief defeated in battle, a poor man or villager neglected by his relations were to be indisposed and come to the monastery and even if that person were not a blood relation of the monk, medicine should be given to him, but without expectation of reward.[3]

The Samantapāsādikā contains also an account of a well-known thera at Cetiyapabbata who gave food and showed hospitality to a robber who came to plunder the monastery. By the kindness thus shown, we are told, the robber was converted and became thenceforth an ardent protector of the vihāra. A complaint was brought later by some bhikkhus against the thera for giving to a robber the property that belonged to the community of monks. The thera was, however, successful in proving that the attitude he took was correct.[4]

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1 Mv 35.10, 11.
2 P. P. II pp. 110—111 ; Vi I 94, 95.
3 Smp II 469 foll.
4 Ibid. II 474.

The rules of social conduct described in the Commentaries and of which the foregoing are a few examples, are taken partly from the Canonical Vinaya and partly from what is known as the *Pālimuttaka*[1] Vinaya. The latter embodies rules of conduct in relation to many aspects of a monk's life and provides a wide and interesting field of research into the growth of the Vinaya in Ceylon and also to a considerable extent into the social conditions that prevailed in the island at the time when such development took place.

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1 This term has been explained in an earlier chapter (Part I ch. 4).

The Growth of Ritual

A religion which enters into the everyday life of a people is very likely to be influenced or corrupted by the beliefs and superstitions of that people. Adherents of a religion do not corrupt it consciously or in a day. The process is gradual and one is able to see a substantial difference only when the beliefs current in two periods not too close to one another are compared and contrasted. In the Buddhist literature of Ceylon we have two such periods, having a mass of literature belonging to each, namely, the Pāli Piṭakas and the Pāli Commentaries. We are however unfortunate in not being able to know definitely the dates of the Piṭakas in their present form and of the compilations of the original Sinhalese Commentaries which were translated into Pāli by Buddhaghosa and his successors.

Though the Piṭakas were committed to writing as late as the first century B.C. there is not sufficient reason to believe that they received any substantial additions after they were brought to the island by Mahinda. The Parivāra of the Vinaya Piṭaka is clearly an exception. Its compilation either in its entirety or in some of its parts including the introduction was done in Ceylon. As it has been pointed out elsewhere the Buddhavaṃsa, too, has received some additions. With regard to the rest of the Canon the case is different. Whenever an addition to the Canon was made by the Sinhalese bhikkhus, care was taken to record that fact in the Commentaries. An example of this nature is seen in the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, which says that the verses beginning with "*Aṭṭhadoṇam cakkhumato sarīraṃ*" of the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta of the Dīghanikāya[1] were composed by the theras of Ceylon.[2] For this as well as for other reasons we may safely consider that the Pāli Piṭakas on the whole depict the Theravāda Buddhism of a pre-Mahindian day.[3] On the other hand the Commentaries had a gradual growth in Ceylon, and as we have shown in an earlier chapter they were compiled in the Sinhalese language probably in the first century A.D. Nevertheless, their growth was not arrested until they were translated into Pāli in the fifth century A.D. Therefore the beliefs, forms of worship and the like which are absent in the Canon and are to be found in the Commentaries may well be regarded as having grown in Ceylon or, at least, as being prevalent in the island at the time the Sinhalese Commentaries were written. In the present chapter we shall deal with some of these beliefs and forms of worship.

Veneration of cetiyas and Bodhi trees was a prominent feature in the religion of ancient Ceylon. It was only at a later stage that images came to be so regarded. As Sir Charles Eliot remarked : "It is one of the ironies of fate that the Buddha and his followers should be responsible for the growth of image worship, but it seems to be true. He laughed at sacrifices and left to his disciples only two forms of religious exercise, sermons and meditation.

1 D II pp. 167—168.
2 Sum Vil II 615.
3 *See* Rhys Davids : Buddhist India pp. 174 foll.

For Indian monks, this was perhaps sufficient, but the laity craved for some outward form of worship. This was soon found in the respect shown to the memory of the Buddha and the relics of his body, although Hinduism never took kindly to relic worship."[1]

Cetiyas

The sanctuaries in which were deposited relics of the Buddha or of his holy disciples were known as Cetiyas, Thūpas (Stūpas) or Dāgäbas a (later word used in Ceylon). In some Commentaries the word cetiya has a more extensive meaning as we see from its division into the two classes : (1) *Sārīra-cetiya*, one containing a relic of the body of the Buddha or of an Arahant, and (2) *Paribhoga-cetiya*, containing an article such as the bowl used by the Buddha. The Bodhi Tree was also considered to belong to this group, for the Buddha attained Enlightenment under it. A sārīra-cetiya was of greater importance than a paribhoga-cetiya.[2] In the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā is given a third group called the *Uddissa-cetiya*.[3] As far as I am aware, the word occurs only in this Commentary and even there it appears to be an interpolation.[4] An uddissa-cetiya signified an image or some other object made to resemble the figure of the Buddha. In later works the classification always consists of these three groups and the uddissa-cetiya occupies the third position in order of importance.

Veneration of the cetiya originated in India as is evidenced by the stūpa at Sāñchi, which in the opinion of Cunningham was built before the time of Asoka,[5] and also by the stūpa of Piprāvā on the borders of Nepal.[6] Buddhaghosa's account in the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī that Mahākassapa requested Ajātasattu to collect the relics of the Buddha and place them in a stūpa may also have a historical foundation,[7] but it is not possible to say how far relics were then regarded as objects of worship. According to the Manorathapūraṇī a cetiya originally meant a dwelling place of the yakkhas and the Buddha is said to have resided often during the first twenty years of his ministry at the Gotamaka, Cāpāla, Sārananda and the Bahuputta cetiyas, that is, at the dwelling places of the yakkhas having these names.[8] Many of these cetiyas such as the Aggāḷava and the Gotamaka were converted into Buddhist vihāras, but they still retained the original names.[9] The dressing-hall of the Malla kings was also known as a cetiya. It was so called because the hall was coloured or painted (*cittaka*).[10]

The Buddha himself is said to have caused cetiyas to be built depositing in them relics of several of his disciples who were Arahants, such as Sāriputta and Moggallāna.[11] It may here be noticed that four kinds of people are mentioned as being worthy to be respected by building thūpas, en-

1 Hinduism and Buddhism. Vol. II p. 171.
2 Pap Sn 878, Man II 6, 7.
3 DhA III 251.
4 Two reasons lead me to consider this as an interpolation : (*a*) The word, if it occurred in the original Commentary, should, as it is more appropriate, come third and not between sārīrikacetiya and paribhoga-cetiya, and (*b*) as seen from the P. T. S. Edition several of the Mss. omit this word from the text.
5 Rhys Davids : Buddhist India p. 288.
6 Hinduism and Buddhism Vol. III p. 23.
7 Sum Vil II 611. Also *see* Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. III pp. 23, 24.
8 Man II 373. Also *see* Sum Vil II 554.
9 Pj II 344.
10 Sum Vil II 596.
11 DhA III 83 ; Sum Vil II 554.

shrining their relics, namely, a Buddha, a Paccekabuddha, a disciple of a Buddha (*Tathāgata-sāvako*) and a Cakkavatti king.[1] The Dīghanikāya which mentions these four makes no distinction between an Arahant and an ordinary virtuous disciple of the Buddha, but its Commentary, the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, takes it for granted that only an Arahant disciple is meant here and gives as a reason for excluding the ordinary virtuous disciples, that if they were also included the thūpas of such disciples would have covered the whole of Ceylon and other Buddhist countries and consequently suffered by being too common.[2]

According to the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, the Buddha praised a man who paid respect to the cetiya of the former Buddha Kassapa, though the man did not know the significance of the cetiya at the time he was worshipping it.[3] The same Commentary informs us that the Buddha was born in a previous birth as the brāhmaṇa Saṅkha and that then he cleared away the grass that had grown on the compound of the cetiya containing the relics of the Paccekabuddha, Susīma, spread sand there and offered flowers of the forest at the cetiya. The harvest of these meritorious deeds he reaped in abundance in his last birth as the Buddha.[4] The Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā, too, has a story which shows how a previous Buddha, Maṅgala by name, while he was yet a Bodhisatta, honoured the cetiya of a still earlier Buddha.[5] How old these Commentarial narratives are and how they grew we are unable to say, but it is interesting to note that so important a place should have been given to cetiya worship in the Commentary of the Dhammapada, which of all books of the Pāli Tipiṭaka assigns a decidedly insignificant value to reliance on this kind of worship. Two verses in the Dhammapada may be quoted to illustrate this :

Bahuṃ ve saraṇaṃ yanti-pabbatāni vanāni ca
Arāma rukkha cetiyāni-manussā bhayatajjitā.
N'etam kho saraṇam khemam-n'etaṃ saraṇam uttamaṃ
N'etam saraṅam āgamma-sabbadukkhā pamuccati.[6]

These verses leave us with no doubt as to the original Buddhist attitude towards the kind of ritual such as we are now considering.

Whatever the original attitude may have been, the construction of cetiyas began in Ceylon at a very early date. Mahinda is reported to have said to Devānampiyatissa that he (*i.e.*, Mahinda) was desirous of returning to India as he had not seen the Buddha for a long time, meaning thereby that he had not seen the Buddha's relics. The king understood the hint and made

1 D II p. 142.
2 Sum Vil II 583, 584.
3 DhA III 251.
4 Ibid. III 448.
5 BuA 117.
6 Dhammapada, vv. 188, 189 :

188. " To many refuges men verily
betake themselves when peril makes afeared ;
to hills and woods, to gardens, trees and shrines.
189. Nay, this refuge no haven is,
nay, this refuge is not supreme.
Not when to this refuge he's come
is he from every ill set free."

Mrs. Rhys Davids : The Minor Anthologies of the Pāli Canon. Part I pp. 65, 67.

speedy preparations to build a thūpa.[1] He is also said to have built many other smaller cetiyas at a distance of a yojana from one another.[2] This example set by Devānampiyatissa was followed by many of his successors, the most noteworthy among them being Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, who caused the erection of the Mahācetiya and whose faith in the veneration of relics was so great that he had had a relic put into his spear, the royal standard, when he set out to fight the Tamils.[3]

The belief that the existence of his relics was equivalent to the existence of the Buddha himself (*dhātusu hi ṭhitāsu Buddhā ṭhitā va honti*)[4] was deep rooted in the heart of the Sinhalese Buddhist. According to the Sumangala-vilāsinī, the relics of long-lived Buddhas remain as inseparable masses, but in the case of our Buddha, Gotama, they separated into pieces of varying size. For, the Buddha thought that as he would pass away before long, before his sāsana spread in every quarter, the relics should be available to the people so that they, who make a cetiya with a relic even as small as a mustard seed and venerate it, may attain a happy state after death.[5] The Buddha is said to have caused a cetiya to be built near a four-way junction with the relics of the minister, Santati, who attained Arahantship and passed away as a lay disciple, in order that people may venerate it and acquire merit (*mahājano vanditvā puññabhāgī bhavissatī ti*).[6] The very sight of a cetiya was considered to be a most desirable thing.[7] It was also held that when a layman went to pay his veneration at a cetiya or at a Bodhi tree he performed thereby a bodily act of love (*mettaṃ kāyakammaṃ*), and when he uttered the words " Let us go to worship a cetiya or a Bodhi tree ", he performed a vocal act of love (*mettaṃ vacīkammaṃ*).[8] Merits acquired by worshipping a cetiya were still greater. " If ", says the Sumangalavilāsinī, " one who set out with a delighted mind to worship a cetiya, were to die on his way, he would forthwith be born in a happy state."[9] Instances are not wanting of people who were believed to have taken rebirth in a deva-world as a result of building a cetiya. Gopaksasīvalī, who caused the cetiya at Tālapiṭṭhikavihāra to be built may be cited as an example.[10] On the other hand, destroying a cetiya was a deadly sin equal in gravity to those known as the *ānantariya kammas*[11] which are heinous such as killing one's parents.

Beliefs such as these led to the making of cetiya-worship an important religious institution diligently sought after by the faithful disciples among both the monkhood and the laity. We have had occasion to refer many times in the preceding chapters to theras who went on pilgrimages to various cetiyas and also to some who came from abroad to worship the cetiyas in Ceylon.[12] Laymen, too, went, in large numbers. On great festive occasions connected with the worship of cetiyas, people used to assemble from all

1 Smp I 83.
2 Mv 20.12. Also *see* 20.45.
3 Mv 25.1.
4 SV 431, Pap Sn 881.
5 Sum Vil II 604.
6 DhA III 83.
7 Vi I 91.
8 Sum Vil II 531.
9 Ibid. II 582. The same idea, though in a less developed state, is found in the Dīghanikāya *see* Vol. II, p. 141.
10 SV 156.
11 Man II 6, Pap Sn 878.
12 *See* Smp Sn II 377.

quarters, dressed to the best of their means in fine clothes, so much so that bhikkhus were advised not to go to such assemblies lest their mental calm should be disturbed.[1]

How a bhikkhu should worship a cetiya is explained in the Commentaries. "Full of zest obtained by thinking about the Buddha, one should ascend the courtyard of the cetiya. If the cetiya is big, he should circumambulate it thrice and bow down at four places. If it is small he should circumambulate in like manner and bow down at eight places."[2] The acceptance of a particular routine of worship such as this, too, shows how far cetiya-worship had developed as a ritual.

Collar-bone and Tooth Relics

Two relics belonging to the first group, that is, the *sārīra-cetiya* deserve special mention. They are the Buddha's collar-bone and the left eye-tooth. The former was brought to Ceylon a few months after the arrival of Mahinda, and king Devānampiyatissa built the Thūparāma Dāgäba at Anurādhapura enshrining the relic.[3] The tooth relic found its way to Ceylon about five centuries later in the time of king Sirimeghavaṇṇa.[4]

The king placed the relic in a specially built shrine known as the *Danta-dhātughara* and decreed that every year it should be taken from that place to the Abhayagiri-vihāra and hold ceremonies there.[5] Fa Hien, too, records the existence of an organized annual ceremony held in honour of this relic at the time of his visit to Ceylon. The ceremony was held in the middle of the third month. Describing the ceremony Fa Hien records : "Ten days beforehand, the King magnificently caparisons a great elephant, and commissions a man of eloquence and ability to clothe himself in royal apparel and, riding on the elephant, to sound a drum and proclaim as follows : .... 'Let all ecclesiastical and lay persons within the kingdom, who wish to lay up a store of merit, prepare and smoothe the roads, adorn the streets and highways, let them scatter every kind of flower, and offer incense in religious reverence to the Relic.' This proclamation being finished, the king next causes to be placed on both sides of the road representations of the 500 bodily forms which Bodhisattwa assumed, during his successive births. For instance, his birth as Su-ji-no ; his appearance as a bright flash of light ; his birth as the king of the elephants, and as an antelope. These figures are all beautifully painted in divers colours, and have a very life-like appearance. At length the tooth of Buddha is brought forth and conducted along the principal road. As they proceed on the way, religious offerings are made to it. When they arrive at the Abhayagiri Vihāra, they place it in the Hall of Buddha, where the clergy and laity all assemble in vast crowds and burn incense, and light lamps, and perform every kind of ceremony, both night and day, without ceasing. After ninety complete days they again return it to the Vihāra within the city. This chapel is thrown open on the chief holidays for the purpose of religious worship, as the Law (of Buddha) directs."[6] This account is invaluable in that it shows to what extent ritual had become a part of the Buddhist religion by the end of the fourth century A.D.

1 SV 348, Sum Vil I 184.
2 SV 349, Sum Vil I 186.
3 Smp I 83 foll. Mv Ch. 17.
4 Mv 37.92—97.
5 Ibid. 37.97.
6 Beal : Travels of Buddhist Pilgrims, pp. 155 foll.

Dhātuparinibbāna

The Commentaries contain also a tradition as to how the *sārīra-dhātu* (bodily relics) of the Buddha would disappear from the world. That disappearance is called the *dhātu-parinibbāna* (complete extinction of the relics). When the end of the sāsana draws nigh, the relics that are in Ceylon will collect together and make their way to the Mahācetiya. From there they will go to the Rājāyatana cetiya in Nāgadīpa and finally to the Mahābodhi-pallaṅka (Seat at the Great Bodhi Tree). Then other relics, too, that are in other spheres of the universe, namely, the worlds of the Nāgas, Devas and Brahmas, will arrive at the same place. Till then no relic even of the size of a mustard seed is destroyed. Having come together at the Mahābodhi-pallaṅka (in India) they will join together as a lump of gold and shed forth the six-fold radiance throughout the systems of ten thousand worlds. Then the deities of all those worlds will assemble and express their sorrow more intensely than they did when the Buddha passed away. None excepting the Anāgāmins and the Arahants will be able to remain unmoved. At last fire will spring from the relics and, blazing forth as far as the world of the Brahmas, will burn the relics entirely.[1]

The bowl used by the Buddha and the sacred Bodhi Tree may be mentioned as the most important in the group known as the *paribhoga* relics. The *rājāyatana* tree and the precious throne-seat which the Buddha was believed to have given to the Nāgas were also regarded as coming under this group.[2]

Bowl

The bowl used by the Buddha was brought to Ceylon during the reign of Devānampiyatissa. This 'the king kept in his beautiful palace and worshipped continually with manifold offerings'.[3] Even as the tooth relic, this, too, was considered a valuable possession of the Sinhalese kings. When Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya fled through fear of the Tamil invaders, he hid it in the Vessagiri forest,[4] but one of the Tamils found it and, valuing it even more than the kingdom of Ceylon, took it away to India.[5] Eliot compares the part played by this relic to that of the Holy Grail in Christian romance.[6] Fa Hien saw it at Peshawar. He records that formerly a king of Yueh-she invaded Peshawar with the main object of carrying away the bowl. Though he subdued the kingdom he was unable to remove the relic. At the time when Fa Hien visited the place the bowl was exhibited thrice daily and people made their offerings to it.[7]

Bodhi Tree

The veneration of the Bodhi Tree was as common and widespread as that of the cetiyas in ancient Ceylon and it exists so up to the present day. Bodhi Tree means the "Tree of Wisdom". But as Rhys Davids points out, 'the wisdom was the wisdom of the Master not of the tree or of the tree-god, and could not be obtained by eating of its fruits'.[8] The reverence paid to the tree was 'not for its own sake, and not to any soul or spirit supposed to be in

1 Pap Sn 882.
2 Mv 1, vv. 68, 69.
3 Ibid. 20, vv. 10, 13.
4 Ibid. 33.48.
5 Ibid. 33, 55.
6 Hinduism and Buddhism Vol. III, p. 24.
7 Legge : Travels of Fa Hien, pp. 34, 35.
8 Buddhist India, p. 230.

it, but to the tree as the symbol of the Master, or because .... it was under a tree of that kind that his followers believed that a venerated Teacher of old had become a Buddha. In either case it is a straining of terms, a misrepresentation or at best a misunderstanding, to talk of tree-worship.'[1]

The Pippal tree (the Bodhi tree of the Buddhists) was held in high esteem before Buddhism arose, even as early as the Vedic period.[2] Many Buddhist sculptures ranging from the second century B.C. to the second A.D. and in which are represented the veneration of this tree have been discovered in India,[3] and, no doubt, the practice existed from a much earlier date. Ānanda Coomaraswamy is of opinion 'that every Buddhist temple and monastery in India once had its Bodhi Tree and flower-altar, as is still the case in Ceylon.'[4] Tradition asserts, and the belief prevails widely in Ceylon, that the *Bodhi-pūjā* or the veneration of the Bodhi Tree dates as far back as the time of the Buddha, for it is held that the ascetic Siddhattha Gotama after he attained Enlightenment under this tree, remained there for seven days looking at the tree as a mark of gratitude to that which helped him with the cool shade of its leaves. This tradition, however, does not have the full support of the Pāli Commentaries. The Udānaṭṭhakathā and the Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā mention that the seat (*pallaṅka*) as well as the tree received the grateful gaze of the Buddha.[5] In another passage of the latter Commentary only the *pallaṅka* is mentioned;[6] and so is it in the Atthasālinī and the Jātakaṭṭhakathā.[7]

Whatever the origin of the practice was, its cult in Ceylon existed from the time of Mahinda. According to the Samantapāsādikā and the Mahāvaṃsa, the southern branch of the sacred Bodhi Tree at Gayā was brought to Ceylon a short time after the advent of Mahinda. Amidst solemn festivities befitting the occasion, Devānampiyatissa planted this branch at Anurādhapura and it has drawn to this day many millions of devout pilgrims. The Mahāvaṃsa refers frequently to various acts of homage performed by kings that followed Devānampiyatissa.[8] Fa Hien, too, refers to this tree in his memoirs.[9] Saplings from the tree at Anurādhapura were planted in many places in the island.[10]

But among all these the parent tree at Buddhagayā and its branch at Anurādhapura were held to be the most sacred. The Atthasālinī gives an account of a thera who went to India to pay his respects to the great Bodhi.[11] King Sirimeghavaṇṇa is said to have sent two bhikkhus to India to king San-maon-to-lo-kiu-to, that is Samudragupta, requesting him to provide shelter there for the Sinhalese monks who were on a pilgrimage to the sacred tree at Bo-gayā.[12] Two inscriptions have also been found at Gayā which record the building of a temple and the gift of a statue by Mahānāma, a

1 Buddhist India, p. 230.
2 Ibid. p. 231.
3 *See* Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Vol. 24. No. 144.
4 Ibid. No. 144, p. 54.
5 UdA 52, BuA 18.
6 BuA 240.
7 Att. 12, J I 77.
8 *See* e.g., Mv 28.1 ; 34. 58 ; 36, 25, 52, 56, 126 ; 37, 15.
9 Legge : Travels of Fa Hien, p. 103.
10 Smp. 100.
11 Att. 11, 12.
12 Cūl. tr. Vol. 1 p. 1, note 3.

resident of Āmradvīpa and a member of the royal family of Ceylon. Cunningham is inclined to take this thera as the author of the Mahāvaṃsa and suggests that he may have visited the Bodhi Tree in Magadha, where he built a temple and dedicted a statue.[1] References to theras who went to venerate the one at Anurādhapura occur frequently in the Commentaries and we have alluded to them on many occasions.

That there was a Bodhi tree in each monastery in ancient Ceylon is also confirmed by the fact that tending the tree by watering it and cleaning its courtyard was regarded as the duty of every bhikkhu.[2] The Sammohavinodanī tells us further that a bhikkhu who enters the courtyard of a Bodhi tree should venerate the tree behaving with humility as if he were in the presence of the Buddha.[3] Destroying a Bodhi tree was considered a very grave sin. There are certain exceptions. If a branch obstructs a thūpa or an image in which bodily relics of the Buddha are enshrined, or if birds perching on a branch soils a cetiya underneath, that branch should be cut and removed. Similarly if the root of a Bodhi tree enters piercing the base of a cetiya, that root should be removed. But this should not be done if the building obstructed is one pertaining to the Bodhi tree, such as the *Bodhi-ghara*, since the building is for the tree and not the tree for the building. If one lops off a diseased branch or a part that is rotten in order that the Bodhi tree may not perish, he thereby obtains merit as if he had tended the body (of a deceased person).[4]

Images

Thirdly, to the *uddissa* group of cetiyas belong the images of the Buddha. Their veneration began much later than that of the relics and of the Bodhi tree. " The early Buddhist ", says Cunningham, " had no statues of Buddha. He is not once represented in the sculptured bas-reliefs of Bharhut, which date from 150 to 100 B.C., and there is no image of his amongst the numerous scenes of the great Sāñchi Stūpa. The oldest representations of the Buddhas that I am aware of, are found on the coins of the Indo-Scythian king, Kanishka, about A.D. 100."[5] But the art of sculpture was certainly known, and practised by the Hindus as early as the time of Asoka as is seen from the old Buddhist Railing of the Mahābodhi Vihāra.[6] Foucher has discussed the subject in greater detail. According to him, in ancient Buddhist sculptures in such places as those mentioned above and at Amarāvatī the figure of the Buddha is without exception left out in scenes where one would expect to see it. The Buddha's presence in these scenes is represented by a symbol such as a vacant seat, a promenade or *caṅkamaṇa*, the foot prints or the Bodhi Tree.[7] In the Pāli Commentaries, too, there is hardly any mention of the statues of the Buddha. To my knowledge there is only one such instance,[8] and it also refers not to an ordinary image (*paṭima*) but to one in which is enshrined a relic of the Buddha and hence occupying the position more of a thūpa than of a statue.

1 Cunningham : Mahābodhi, London, 1892, p. 60.
2 Sv. 473, Sum Vil I 186, SA Sn III 152.
3 SV 349.
4 Man II 6, 7 ; Pap. Sn 878.
5 Cunningham : Mahabodhi, London 1892, p. 53.
6 Ibid. p. 53.
7 A. Foucher : The Beginnings of Buddhist Art, and other Essays, London, 1917, pp. 5, 19, 72, 75, 104, 117.
8 Man II 6, repeated in PapSn 878.

The Mahāvaṃsa, however, enables us to form an idea of the growth of the Buddha-image in Ceylon. The first mention of it refers to the time of king Vasabha (127—171 A.D.). He caused to be made four beautiful images of the Buddha and a temple for them in the courtyard of the great Bodhi Tree.[1] More than a century later king Vohāraka Tissa (269—291 A.D.) set up two bronze images in the eastern building of the Bodhi.[2] At three entrances of the courtyard of this sacred tree Goṭhābhaya (309—322 A.D.) placed three statues made of stone.[3] Mahāsena (334—361 A.D.) caused two bronze images to be set up on the west side of the building.[4] After this, the construction of image and image-houses becomes quite common and their location is no longer limited to the courtyard and the vicinity of the Bodhi Tree. When the image of the Buddha was introduced to Ceylon the most natural place to keep it was under the Bodhi Tree and this is exactly what we see to have occurred. Fa Hien, too, records that he saw a very beautiful image in the same place. " Beneath the tree ", he writes, " there has been built a vihāra, in which there is an image (of Buddha) seated, which the monks and commonalty reverence and look up to without ever becoming wearied ".[5] In the Abhayagiri monastery also he saw a very beautiful image, more than twenty cubits in height.[6] It is also significant that the earliest mention[7] of a Buddha-image in Ceylon refers to the second century A.D. and thus agrees remarkably with the date of its origin in India. Further, this fact shows in an interesting manner how innovations in the methods of Buddhist worship in India found their echo in the neighbouring island.

Religious Festivities

Along with the veneration of the relics and of the Bodhi Tree there grew up also the custom of holding religious festivities. Of these the Giribhaṇḍa-pūjā of king Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga (67—79 A.D.) may be regarded as the best known.[8] Descriptions of various other festivities of a minor and major character are given frequently in the Mahāvaṃsa. Saddhātissa is said to have made 84,000 offerings in honour of the 84,000 sections of the Dhamma (*Dhammakkhandhas*).[9] This is worthy of notice as it appears to be the prototype of similar offerings (*pūjā*) which are prevalent in Ceylon today. The usual articles of offerings to the cetiyas and Bodhi trees were flowers and lamps. According to the Mahāvaṃsa, king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī caused a thousand lamps, having in them white wicks fed with ghee, to burn perpetually in twelve places as offerings to the Buddha.[10] King Vasabha

1 Mv 35, 89.
2 Ibid. 36, 31.
3 Ibid. 36, 104.
4 Mv 37.31.
5 Legge : Travels of Fa Hien p. 104.
6 Ibid. p. 102.
7 The Mahāvaṃsa (36. 128, 129) refers to an image placed near the Thūpārāma vihār- by king Devānampiyatissa and removed from there to Pācīnatissapabbatavihāra by king Jeṭṭhatissa. The possibility of such a thing as this is contrary to all that we know as to the date of the origin of the Buddha-image. It is, however, very likely, that an image which stood near the Thūpārāma and the source of the construction of which was forgotten by the people, was naturally attributed to the work of Devānampiyatissa as it was this king who built the Thupārāma.
8 Mv 34.75 foll. ; Man I 22, Man Sn 670 ; Sum Vil II 535.
9 Mv 33. 12.
10 Ibid. 32. 37.

had a thousand lamps lighted in four places; that is, on the Cetiyapabbata, about the cetiya in the Thūpārāma, about the Great Thūpa and in the Temple of the great Bodhi tree '.[1] The same king gave the thera Mahāpaduma hundred *kahāpaṇas* to be spent for offering flowers.[2]

Recitation of Parittas

One other form of Buddhist ritual remains to be discussed; and that is the recitation of the *Parittas* (Protection Suttas). It is generally believed that the Buddha preached the Ratana Sutta at Vesāli to free the city from a plague and from the dangers of evil spirits.[3] As we have mentioned elsewhere, king Upatissa of Ceylon caused the monks to chant this Sutta in public at a time when the island was vexed by the ills of a famine and a plague, and it is said that immediate relief was the result of this public chanting.[4] Ever since this time the custom took deep root in Ceylon and exists up to the present day. The Suttas usually chanted are the Maṅgala, the Ratana and the Karaṇīyametta of the Khuddakapāṭha. If the ceremony is conducted over a long time the whole of the *Piritpota* or the Book of Parittas is chanted. The Suttas in this book are mostly of the nature of a code of ethics to be practised in one's everyday life and it is strange how such simple and profound, though highly practical, teachings have been shifted from the realm of life and conduct to that of ceremony and superstition.

The belief in the efficacy of the chanting of the Parittas is perhaps even older than the time of Upatissa. The Pāli Commentaries have several passages extolling its virtues. A young bhikkhu who was cleaning the Dīghavāpi Cetiya fell from the top of that building but, we are told, his life was miraculously saved as a result of invoking the help of the Dhajagga Paritta.[5] The Parittas such as the Āṭānāṭiya, Mora, Dhajagga and Ratana are said to have their influence over ten thousand koṭis (*i.e.*, one hundred thousand million) of world-systems.[6] The Mahāsamaya Sutta was considered to be bringing delight to deities and it is, therefore, recommended for inviting luck.[7]

When laymen were ill, it was customary for the people to invite the bhikkhus to recite Paritta. The Samantapāsādikā describes which forms of invitation should be accepted and which should not be accepted.[8] The Sumaṅgalavilāsinī explains in greater detail how a Paritta recitation should be conducted to heal a man possessed of a demon. In such a case, says the Aṭṭhakathā, the Metta, Ratana and Dhajagga Suttas should be chanted for seven days, and if the evil spirit does not leave the man, then the Āṭānāṭiya Sutta should be recited ; but it should not not be done without first chanting the Suttas mentioned before. During this period the bhikkhu who does the chanting should eat neither flesh nor food made out of flour nor should he dwell in a cemetery, and from the vihāra to the house of the layman who is ill he should

1 Mv. 35. 80.
2 Smp. II 471.
3 *See* Pj I 157.
4 Mv. 37, 189—198.
5 SA I 341.
6 Man II 9, Pap Sn 880, SV 430.
7 Sum Vil II 694.
8 Smp II 472.

be conducted well protected with shields. The chanting should be done inside a house. The doors and the windows of the house should be shut, and the bhikkhu protected by armed people surrounding him, should start the chanting keeping foremost in his heart thoughts of love. If the demon does not yet leave the man, the latter should be taken to the courtyard of a cetiya and Maṅgala verses should be chanted there. Failing in all these, the deities should be invoked saying: " Know ye, (O, deities) this spirit (*amanusso*) does not obey us. We shall do the orders of the Buddha ". If a bhikkhu is possessed of an evil spirit, incense and flowers should be offered to the Buddha and, sharing the merit with those assembled, the other bhikkhus should chant Paritta for the benefit of the afflicted one.[1] The spirit should also be asked not to torment a virtuous monk.[2]

No words are necessary to indicate how far these rituals are from the spirit of the original, pure and unadulterated teaching of the Buddha as exemplified, especially, in the Dhammapada. The growth of ritual was a necessary one if the faith was to have a hold on the masses. It was bound to come. But there is always this satisfaction that these new practices, though they formed a part of the common religion of the masses, did hardly affect the Piṭakas which the Sinhalese monk zealously protected from all possible accretions.

1 Sum Vil III, 969, 970.
2 Smp II, 476.

CHAPTER TEN

The Position of the Deities

ALONG with the growth of ritual there grew also the attention paid to the denizens of the heavenly spheres. We cannot consider this attention paid to deities (*deva* or *devatās*) as a growth that took place entirely in Ceylon. The mention of devas is by no means a rare occurrence in the Sutta Piṭaka. ' The significance of their appearance nearly always lies in their relations with the Buddha or his disciples '. As Sir Charles Eliot observes : " Their existence is assumed, but the truths of religion are not dependent on them, and attempts to use their influence by sacrifices and oracles are deprecated as vulgar practices similar to juggling. Later Buddhism became infected with mythology and the critical change occurs when deities, instead of being merely protectors of the church, take an active part in the work of salvation. When the Hindu gods developed into personalities who could appeal to religious and philosophic minds as cosmic forces, as revealers of the truth and guides to bliss, the example was too attractive to be neglected and a pantheon of Bodhisattvas arose. But it is clear that when the Buddha preached in Kosala and Magadha, the local deities had not attained any such position. The systems of philosophy then in vogue were mostly not theistic, and, strange as the words may sound, religion had little to do with the gods. If this be thought to rest on a mistranslation, it is certainly true that the *dhamma* had little to do with *devas*."[1]

These remarks are also true to a very considerable extent with regard to Buddhism in Ceylon as represented by the Pāli Commentaries. The old Canonical accounts dealing with the devas were expanded and mythology grew round them, but to the Ceylonese Buddhist these devas were still merely classes of living beings, some of them such as the Great Brahmā and Sakka being devout followers of the Buddha and others such as the sinful Māra (*Pāpimā Māro*) being opponents of the Great Teacher and those who followed his teachings. Even the greatest gods of the Brāhmanic pantheon were in their status considered to be far below the Buddha and his virtuous disciples. How long these deities bent before the majesty of the Buddha is seen from the following incident which, the Commentaries say, took place in the morning of the day of his Enlightenment. Early in the morning, Sujātā, the wife of the chieftain Senānī, was preparing a milk-rice pudding to be offered to the deity of the sacred banyan tree in her village. Though she was unaware of it at that time, the Buddha was to be the recipient of the offering. As it was the last meal which the latter was to partake of before his Enlightenment, all the great deities of the world assembled in her kitchen and assisted her in the cooking. The four Guardian Deities of the world kept watch over the oven, the Great Brahmā held a parasol over it, Sakka (the Indra of the brāhmaṇas) kept the fire burning by adjusting the firewood ![2]

1 Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. I p. 330.
2 J. I. 68.

The legends connected with these deities are not devoid of their humour. Thus when the Bodhisatta is seated under the Bodhi Tree immediately before his Enlightenment, all the great devas, including Sakka and Brahmā, come to sing his praises. Then arrives the dreadful Māra with his ghastly legions. The Bodhisatta remains unperturbed, but those great devas are terrified at the sight of Māra and take flight helter-skelter. Sakka takes to his heels with his conch Vijayuttarā hanging on his back and does not stop till he reaches the edge of the universe. The Great Brahmā flies to his world leaving his white parasol behind.[1]

Such being the attitude of the early Buddhists in Ceylon towards the deities, we cannot expect to find them engaged in praying to or worshipping deities. There is, indeed, no evidence in the Pāli Commentaries of the practice of any ritual to propitiate them. As it was mentioned in an earlier chapter when king Gajabāhu (174—196 A.D.) brought from South India twelve thousand Colian prisoners, along with them arrived also the cult of many Hindu gods and goddesses. But how far this cult affected the Buddhism of that day we are unable to say definitely. The Mahāvaṃsa tells us that king Mahāsena destroyed three *devālayas* (houses or temples of gods) and built vihāras in their place.[2] In the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī it is said that a bhikkhu in need of thread to stitch his robes may pick up any thread left on the streets or at altars (*devaṭṭhāna*) or bought by someone and offered to him by placing it at his feet.[3] Here we have reference to some ritual in connection with the worship of the devas, but it may well be that the ritual was one performed by the non-Buddhists of Ceylon.

Though the ritual side is absent we cannot ignore the effects of the growth of mythology, as this, too, is a potent factor in influencing the minds of the common folk. And a study of the religious conditions of early Ceylon would be incomplete without, at least a brief survey of the Aṭṭhakathā legends connected with the deities referred to above. It should also be mentioned that these legends may have been influenced by those in the Brāhmaṇic literature of India, but it is beyond the scope of this work to enter into a comparative study of the two. Nor is it possible to give here a detailed account of all the deities mentioned in the Commentaries.

The Brahmās

The highest among the Buddhist deities are the Brahmās. They are said to lead pure lives and to be free from the enjoyment of sense-pleasures. Some of the most sublime virtues in Buddhism such as *brahmacariyā* and the *brahma-vihāras* are called after their name. They are also said, as mentioned before, to have attended on the Buddha frequently both before and after his Enlightenment. Thus at the moment of Prince Siddhattha's birth four Great Brahmās, pure in thought, received him in a golden net;[4] immediately afterwards when he walked the seven steps (*satta-pada-vītihāra*) proclaiming his supremacy over the whole universe, the Great Brahmā followed, holding a parasol over him[5] and when the prince renounced the home-life to become the Buddha, the Great Brahmā Ghaṭīkāra brought to him the eightfold requisites of an ascetic.[6]

I Ibid. I 72.
2 Mv 37.40.
3 Sum Vil III 1012.
4 J. I. 52.
5 Ibid. I 53.
6 Ibid. I 65.

The names of many Brahmās are mentioned in the Canon as well as in the the Commentaries. That of the Brahmā Sahampati occurs several times. According to the Jātakaṭṭhakathā he was the first to request the Buddha to preach the Truth discovered by the latter.[1] According to another Commentary he offered the Buddha a jewelled garland as big as the Mountain Sineru.[2] It is interesting to note that this Brahmā is said to have come to Ceylon to attend on a thera on the occasion of the latter's attaining to Arahantship. In this visit the Brahmā was accompanied by the Four Great Kings (*Cattāro Mahārājāno*) and Sakka.[3] The Brahmā Hārita, whose name also occurs in the Mahāsamaya Sutta, appears to be the chief of the Brahmās even as Sakka is the chief of the devas.[4] On the other hand, the Brahmā Sanan Kumāra appears often to take the role of a preacher among the deities.[5] A list of the different classes of Brahmās is given in the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī. The Suddhāvāsas or those of the Pure Abode occupy the highest position.[6]

Sakka and his group

Sakka is the deity who is mentioned most in the Pāli Commentaries. Even in the Canon his name is of frequent occurrence. He is the Indra[7] of the pre-Buddhistic Indian pantheon, now a devout follower of Buddha. In the Vedas we find him as a 'demon-slaying Soma-drinking' deity. Now he is 'the heavenly counter-part of a pious Buddhist king. He frequently appears in the Jātaka stories as the protector of true religion and virtue, and when a good man is in trouble, his throne grows hot and attracts his attention. His transformation is analogous to the process by which heathen deities, especially in the Eastern Church, have been accepted as Christian saints'.[8] Instances are however not entirely lacking of Sakka's tendency to appear in his pre-Buddhistic garb. Thus in the Abbhantara Jātaka he plots to destroy a number of ascetics.[9] Again we find him stealing a Tooth-relic of the Buddha from the hands of Doṇa, who distributed the relics,[10] and, on another occasion, he incites the bhikkhus to deceive king Ajātasattu.[11]

The Pāli Commentaries refer often to the attention paid by Sakka to the personal needs of the Buddha.[12] He is also said to have taken a keen interest in the affairs of Ceylon. According to the Mahāvaṃsa he was asked by the Buddha himself to protect Ceylon.[13] Accordingly he sought out Mahinda and requested him to go over to the island as the time for its conversion approached.[14] When king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī contemplated the building of the Mahāthūpa, Sakka sent his attendant Vissakamma[15] to make bricks for the

1 J. I. 81.
2 Pj I 171.
3 SV 352, Pj 11, 56.
4 Sum Vil I 40, II 693, BuA 132.
5 Sum Vil II, 650, 666.
6 Ibid. II 510, 511.
7 He appears also under the name Purindada. DhA I 264.
8 Eliot: Hinduism and Buddhism Vol. I p. 333.
9 J II 394.
10 Sum Vil II 609.
11 Ibid. II 610.
12 *See* e.g., J I 60, 80; DhA III 269.
13 Mv 7. 2—4.
14 Ibid. 13, 15, 16.
15 For other duties entrusted by Sakka to Vissakamma *see* Man II 236; Sum Vil II 613, 614, 630; Mv 18.24 foll.

king[1] and later when the time for the enshrining of relics came, he sent Vissakamma again to decorate the whole of Ceylon.[2] Sakka himself, records the Mahāvaṃsa, attended the ceremony which was attended also by Brahmā, the gods Saṃtusita and Suyāma and a host of other deities.[3] It is, however, said that their umbrellas and not the deities themselves were visible to men on that occasion.[4]

During the Caṇḍālatissa (also called Brāhmaṇatissa) Peril, Sakka advised the bhikkhus of Ceylon to go over to India and, so the legend proceeds, he even created a raft for the purpose.[5] The Sumaṅgalavilāsinī records that he went frequently to Piyaṅgudīpa in Ceylon to invite the bhikkhus there to celebrate the *Pavāranā* Ceremony (held at the end of the rainy season).[6]

It was also believed in Ceylon—and the belief prevails even at the present day—that Sakka kept a record of the good deeds done by men on this earth. The Sumaṅgalavilāsinī gives an interesting description of how this record is made. The Four Great Kings, their sons and their ministers set out on the full-moon, new moon and the fourteenth day of the lunar month respectively. In a golden book they write down the good deeds done by men and hand it over to Pañcasikha.[7] The latter gives it to Mātalī[8] who in turn submits it to Sakka. Then Sakka reads it in the assembly of devas, who rejoice greatly if men have done many meritorious deeds.[9]

In addition to the deities mentioned above as belonging to the retinue of Sakka, we read also of his four daughters and his elephant. His daughters are: Āsā (Wish), Saddhā (Faith), Siri (Prosperity) and Hiri (Modesty).[10] These names suggest that they are personifications of certain mental states and they bear a striking resemblance to the names of the three daughters of Māra, *viz.*, Taṇhā (Craving), Aratī (Discontent) and Ragā (Attachment),[11] the difference being, as one would expect it, that the latter represent a set of states of mind undesirable from the Buddhist point of view. The description of Sakka's elephant, Erāvana, affords interesting reading. He is said to be a deity belonging to the class called *Kāmarūpi* (capable of assuming any form at will). When Sakka desires to go to his parks Erāvaṇa assumes the form of an elephant and takes Sakka on his back.[12]

The Four Great Kings

Holding posts under Sakka are the Four Great Kings (*Cattāro Mahārājāno*), also called the Guardians of the World (*Lokapālā*). They are Dhataraṭṭha, Virūḷha, Virūpakkha and Vessavaṇa and are mentioned in the Āṭānāṭiya Suttanta[13] of the Dīghanikāya. The Commentary has

1 Mv 28.6 foll.
2 Ibid. 31.34.
3 Ibid. 31.75.
4 Ibid. 31.89.
5 Man I 92.
6 Sum Vil II 648.
7 The deity who is the musician (*Gandhabba*) of Sakka. *See* Sum Vil II, 640, 647; Man I 127. According to the Mahāvaṃsa (31.82) this deity, too, attended the ceremony of enshrining relics in the Mahāthūpa in Ceylon.
8 The charioteer of Sakka. *See* J. I. 202, II. 254.
9 Sum Vil II 650. The belief that the Four Great Kings make such a record is found even in the Canon, but that belief is developed to a marked extent in the Commentaries. *See* Aṅguttaranikāya, Vol. I, pp. 142 foll.
10 J. V. 392.
11 Pj II (2) 544.
12 For a detailed description *see* Pj II 368, Sum Vil II, 688.
13 D. Sutta No. 32.

interesting notes on them. These notes evidently embody beliefs that were current in Ceylon at the time of the compilation of the Aṭṭhakathās. The Suttanta itself appears to be a later addition to the Dīghanikāya, though very likely it is of Indian Origin.

According to the Commentary, Vessavaṇa was a particular friend of the Buddha and was proficient in the art of speaking.[1] He was also known by the name Kuvera.[2] As it was in the case of Sakka, here too the change that took place in the character of Vessavaṇa after his conversion is shown to be very marked. The Paramatthajotikā tells us that in his earlier days he used to kill thousands of *yakkhas*[3] with his *gadā* (mace).[4] In the Samantapāsādikā, too, it is said that before he became a Sotāpanna he was in the habit of killing Kumbhaṇḍas[5] by staring at them.[6] After his conversion, however, he became a protector of the righteous. The Jātakaṭṭhakathā records the death of one Vessavaṇa and the appointing of another by Sakka.[7] This is a good illustration of the Buddhist point of view with regard to the nature of deities. They are as moral as human beings are, and their systems of government and the like are but a counterpart of the systems that prevailed among men. In the Mahāsamaya[8] and the Āṭānāṭiya[9] Suttas Dataraṭṭha is mentioned as the ruler of the Gandhabbas (heavenly musicians).[10] But the Sumaṇgalavilāsinī describes him as a *Haṃsarāja* (King of the swans) with a retinue of ninety thousand swans.[11] As pointed out by Rev. R. Morris popular etymology may have had something to do with this change. In Pāli, *Haṃsarāja* may also mean 'King Haṃsa', who in Indian mythology was a chief of the Gandharvas.[12] Virūḷha and Virūpakkha do not appear so frequently as the other two in the Pāli Commentaries.

These four deities are said to have protected the Buddha's mother from the day of his conception to the day of his birth[13] and seven weeks after his Enlightenment to have given him four earthenware bowls which miraculously became one.[14] We find them, as noted before, visiting Ceylon also, once to wait on Ālindakavāsi Phussadeva thera[15] and again to take part in the ceremony at the Mahācetiya.[16]

Yama

In some Commentaries the legends connected with these deities are more developed than in others. Thus in the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī it is said that there are similar Guardian Deities having the same names in all the ten thousand world-systems.[17] The Netti Aṭṭhakathā gives another set, *viz.*, Inda,

1 Sum Vil III 962.
2 Ibid. III 966.
3 The *yakkhas* are described as terrestrial deities (*bhumma-devatā*) in Man Sn 726.
4 Pj II 225.
5 A class of minor deities. *See* Sum Vil III 964.
6 Smp II 440.
7 J I 328.
8 D. Vol. II p. 257.
9 Ibid. Vol. III, p. 197.
10 Sum Vil II 498.
11 Ibid. I 40. Also *see* Pap II 6.
12 J.P.T.S. 1893 p. 24.
13 J I 51.
14 Ibid. I 80; BuA 9.
15 SV 352.
16 Mv 31.79.
17 Sum Vil II 687.

Yama, Varuṇa and Kuvera as the names of the Lokapālas.[1] Inda, mentioned in this list, is evidently another term for Sakka whom we have already discussed. Yama,[2] too, is one of the Brāhmaṇic deities 'adopted by Buddhism'. He is mentioned in the Devadūta Sutta of the Aṅguttaranikāya,[3] a Sutta added probably at a later date to the Canon. In this Sutta it is said that there are Guards of the Underworld (*Nirayapālā*) to assit Yama. There were some theras in Ceylon who did not believe in the existence of Nirayapālas as they held that *kamma* was powerful enough to bring about due retribution to evil doers. The orthodox school seems to have held the former belief.[4] When a person is born in hell (*Niraya*), it is the Nirayapālas who take him to Yama to obtain the final decision as to whether that person is to remain in hell or not. A man who has sinned excessively, we are told, is not taken to Yama, for in his case there is no question that he must suffer the torments of hell.[5] Yama is a righteous king.[6] He tries his best to save a person from falling into Niraya. Yama asks him to recall some good deed that he has done. Even at the eleventh hour if he can recall a good deed, that enables him to take birth in a happy world. The Manorathapūraṇī tells us that Dīghajantu, the Tamil, offered a piece of red cloth to the Ākāsacetiya of Sumanagirivihāra (Adam's Peak). Nevertheless, on account of his other misdeeds he was born in Niraya and the raging flames brought to his memory the piece of silk cloth he had offered. This at last enabled him to take birth in a happy state.[7] If the person cannot remember a good deed himself, Yama tries, if possible, to give him a clue. The Papañasūdanī has an interesting story to illustrate this. Once a minister in Ceylon offered a vase of jasmine flowers to the Mahācetiya and shared the merits with Yama. But, as in the case of Dīghajantu, he too was born in Niraya and was taken before Yama. All the attempts of the latter to save him proved futile and, at last, Yama asked him : "Did you not offer jasmine flowers at the Mahācetiya and share the merits with me ?" The minister at once recalled to his memory this incident and thus he was able to escape from Niraya.[8] This belief in the efficacy of sharing merits with Yama seem to have originated in Ceylon and even today it exists in the island among some people.

According to the Manorathapūraṇī, Yama is a king of the *Vemānika Petas* (the Departed Ones living in fairy mansions). Alternately he enjoys celestial pleasures and suffers the torments of hell. This Commentary presents the picture in a very developed form. Here it is said that the number of Yamas is not one but four.[9] In the Paramatthajotikā he is described as a person capable of infinite wrath, for when he is angered he kills numberless Kumbhaṇḍas by merely staring at them.[10] It is difficult to harmonize these divergent pictures. What we find now is perhaps a curious conglomeration of old and new beliefs that were current in Ceylon and which

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1 NA 5.
2 In the Jātakaṭṭhakathā (II 318) he is called Vesāyi.
3 A I pp. 138 foll.
4 Man II 227, Pap Sn 953, Sum Vil III 809.
5 Man II 230.
6 Ibid II 228.
7 Ibid II 230.
8 Pap Sn 955.
9 Man II 228.
10 Pj II 225.

found their way gradually into the Sinhalese Commentaries during the process of their growth.

Suyāma and Santusita

Higher in status than the deities discussed so far, excepting the Brahmās, are Suyāma and Santusita. We find them often coming in the company of others devas to pay their respects to the Buddha. According to the Mahāvaṃsa they, too, came to Ceylon to take part in the celebrations in connection with the Mahāthūpa in Anurādhapura.[1]

Māra

Still higher in status than these deities is Māra, the Sinful One.[2] As far as might is concerned he excels all other devas, not excluding the Brahmās. Māra, as depicted in the Pāli Canon and the Commentaries, is the result of an inextricable mixture of legend, myth and personification of evil. He appears frequently in the Canon, but the accounts of him in the Commentaries are of a more developed nature. His name *Māro* (*Pāpimā*) 'corresponds to the *Mṛtyuh* of the Vedas, but as a personality he seems to have developed entirely within the Buddhist circle and to be unknown to general mythology.'[3]

Māra is known to Buddhist literature under a large number of names : *e.g.*, Adhipati (Chief),[4] Antaka (Ender),[4,6,12] Kāla (Black),[5,7] Kaṇha (Black),[4,6,11] Maccu (Death)[9], Maccurājā (King of Death)[10], Maraṇa (Death)[10], Mahāsena (One with a large army)[8], Namuci(?)[4,6,7], Pajāpati (Lord of beings)[13], Pamattabandhu (Kinsman of the intoxicated)[4,6,7] and Vasavatti (Wielder of power)[4]. Some of these names are explained in the Commentaries. Thus, for example, Māra is called Mahāsena because he has a large army that is composed of death-dealers, such as serpents, scorpions, poisons and weapons.[14] Those names as well as their explanations show us clearly that Māra is predominantly a personification of death and also of what is regarded as evil. As shown before, the names of his daughters, too, point to the same conclusion.

His ambition is always to hinder the activities of good people and hence his appearance again and again to stop the ascetic Gotama from attaining Enlightenment. Failing in other attempts he is said to have concentrated all his efforts when he came for his well-known *Māra-yuddha* accompanied by many legions of his followers.[15] The Padhāna Sutta of the Suttanipāta leaves us with no doubt as to what his legions were. They were none other

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1 Mv 31.78.
2 For a detailed discussion on this deity, *see* Windisch : Māra und Buddha.
3 Eliot : Hinduism and Buddhism Vol. I p. 337.
4 SA I 169.
5 PsmA 107.
6 Sum Vil II 555.
7 UdA 367.
8 NA 203.
9 Pj II 351.
10 Ibid. 338.
11 Ibid. 350.
12 DhA I 366.
13 Pap I 33.
14 NA 203.
15 J I 71 foll. ; Pj II (2) 391 ; BuA 238 foll.

than sense-desires, aversion, craving and the like.[1] The account of the struggle which the Buddha had at that moment with the forces of evil was couched in figurative language in true Indian fashion.[2] At a later stage the figurative nature of the struggle was lost sight of, and, already by the time of the Pāli Commentaries, the general belief which prevailed was that an actual war took place between the Buddha and Māra and that the latter was defeated by the power of love and virtue of the Buddha.

In the Commentaries we find also a compromise between these two views of the nature of Māra and his legions. The Sumaṅgalavilāsinī tells us that at the Bodhi-pallaṅka (the seat under the Bodhi Tree) the Buddha defeated the three Māras: Devaputta (Deity), Maccu (Death) and Kilesa (defilements).[3] Buddhaghosa's Commentaries know only three whereas in certain others Māra is given as fourfold[4] and in some even as five-fold.[5] These five comprise the three mentioned before and Khandha (the aggregates of mind and body) and Abhisaṅkhāra (the preparation or working of kamma). In post-Aṭṭhakathā works of Ceylon Māra is invariably described as being five-fold.

Other minor deities

In addition to those mentioned above there are also a few other minor deities. Siva and Khanda are mentioned in the Udāna Aṭṭhakathā, but their names are brought forward only to show the futility of propitiating them.[6] Several times reference is made to Rāhu, whose physical body is said to be bigger than that of any other deity.[7] But here, too, the chief object is to point out how he, despite his gigantic stature, appeared insiginificant before the Buddha.[8] The Mahāvaṃsa introduces us to the deva Sumana of the Sumanakūṭa Mountain (Adam's Peak).[9] He is a local deity. According to the Papañcasūdanī his daughter Kāḷī was married to Dīghataphala, a tree deity at Rājagaha in India.[10]

Metteyya Bodhisatta

Holding a unique position among all the deities is Metteyya Bodhisatta.[11] According to the Mahāvaṃsa he is now a deva in the Tusita heaven, awaiting time when he shall be born in the world of men and become the next Buddha.[12] King Jeṭṭhatissa II, who was proficient in the art of ivory carving, made a beautiful image representing this Bodhisatta.[13] Metteyya is not mentioned often in the Commentaries. If the Mahāvaṃsa account is

1 Suttanipāta P.T.S. Edition p. 76. Also *see* E. J. Thomas: Life of Buddha as Legend and History, p. 72.
2 Eliot: Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. I, pp. 327 foll.
3 Sum Vil II, 659; III 858; also *see* Ibid. I 129; II 680; DhA IV 45; PsmA 147; SA Sn III 35.
4 ItA 136; Pj II (2) 436. As was pointed out in Part I ch. I there is no definite evidence to show that the latter Commentary is a work of Buddhaghosa, though it is attributed to him. It should also be mentioned that, as far as I am aware, the four Māras are not enumerated in the Commentaries.
5 ApA 95; ItA 120; NA 122.
6 UdA 351.
7 SA I 108, 109.
8 Pap Sn 790.
9 Mv 1.33.
10 Pap Sn 813.
11 Att. 361, 415. The name Metteyya occurs again, but without any details, in Pj II 28.
12 Mv 32.73.
13 Ibid. 37. 101, 102.

correct, there is reason to believe that he was well known in Ceylon in the early part of the fifth century A.D. as we are told that when the theras of the Mahāvihāra read Buddhaghosa' first work in Ceylon, the Visuddhimagga, they exclaimed in joy: "Without doubt this is Metteyya".[1] Buddhaghosa himself expresses that his aspiration is to be reborn in this world in the time of the Buddha Metteyya and attain Arahantship under his guidance.[2] The ideal of Bodhisattvaship, it should be noted, was not foreign to the Theravāda Buddhsim in Ceylon in the time of Buddhaghosa. A striking proof of this fact is found in the Visuddhimagga where it is said that the highest virtue (*sīla*) is ' that virtue of the perfections which arises for the sake of the emancipation of all beings ',[3] which, of course, is the virtue of a Bodhisatta. The doctrine, however, attained its development in Mahāyānism.[4]

Buddhist Cosmography

A word should also be said in this connection on the cosmography of the Buddhists. The Buddhist view of the physical nature of the universe with all its hells and heavens, is already found described in different parts of the Canon. The Commentaries furnish us with some more details. It would be interesting to study how far the Buddhist conception has been influenced by other schools of religious literature in India, but here again such an investigation is beyond the range of the present work. W. Kirfel in his *Die Kosmographie der Inder* has dealt in considerable detail with the Buddhist conception of the universe. In the same work he has given separately the views of other Indian schools, thus making an investigation of the influence of them on Buddhism a comparatively easy task. It would suffice for us to deal here with the Buddhist point of view in the barest outline.[5]

The Underworld or the Apāya consists of four divisions:

1. The animal kingdom (*Tiracchāna-yoni*).
2. the hells (*Niraya, Naraka*),[6]
3. the world of the departed beings (*Petaloka*), and
4. the world of the Asuras (*Asuraloka*).

The Naraka has eight chief divisions: Saṃjīva, Kālasutta, Saṅghāta, Roruva, Mahāroruva, Tapana, Patāpana and Avīci. Each of these in turn has a large number of sub-divisions (*Ussada-Narakas*).[7]

Next comes the world of men (*Manussaloka*) and above it are the six heavens (*Saggalokā*):

1. Cātummahārājika, the Realm of the Four Great Kings,
2. Tāvatiṃsa, the Realm of Sakka,[8]
3. Yāma,

1 Mv 37.242.
2 Vi II 713; Att 431.
3 P.P. I 16; Vi I 13.
4 *See* Rhys Davids: American Lectures, pp. 199 foll. & Eliot: Hinduism and Buddhism Vol. I p. xxix.
5 What follows is more or less a mere enumeration of the contents of Kirfel's work, pp. 178—207.
6 Also called sometimes by the names Yamaloka (DhA I 334), Yamakkhaya and Yamasadana (J V 304).
7 *See* J. V. 270 foll.
8 According to the Atthasālinī it was in this world that the Buddha preached the Abhidhamma. The same Commentary tells us that there were theras who did not hold this opinion (Att. 31).

4. Tusita, where as mentioned before, the Metteyya Bodhisatta is believed to dwell at present,[1]
5. Nimmāṇarati, and
6. Paranimmitavasavatti, the Realm of Māra.

These eleven spheres, *viz.*, the four Apāyas, the world of men and the six Sagga-lokas belong to the Kāma-loka or the world of sense-desires.

Higher than the Kāma-loka is the Rūpa-loka or the World of Form, the abode of the Brahmās who have a material body. It has fifteen sub-divisions :[2]

1. Brahmapārisajja
2. Brahmapurohita
3. Mahābrahma
4. Parittābha
5. Appamāṇābha
6. Ābhassara
7. Parittasubha
8. Appamāṇasubha
9. Subhakiṇṇa
10. Vehapphala
11. Aviha
12. Atappa
13. Sudassa
14. Sudassi
15. Akaṇiṭṭha

The last five are known as the Suddhāvāsā (Abodes of the Pure Ones).

Above all these is the four-fold Arūpaloka or the World of no-Form. It is the abode of the Brahmās who do not possess a material body.

1 The Mahāvaṃsa (32.72) says that king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, too, was born in this world.
2 In some books an Asaññasatta is also mentioned (*see* Kirfel p. 193). This is usually placed after Vehapphala.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX IA

NAMES OF PERSONS
(Ceylonese and those closely connected with Ceylon Mentioned in the Commentaries)

		A
Abhaya	...	Smp I 63, II 474 Smp Sn II 59, 377 Vi I 36, 266 Pap I 79, 290 Man II 54 SV 275 Att 399 Sum Vil II 530
Abhaya (Prince)	...	Smp I 90
Abhaya (a thief)	...	Smp II 473, 474
Aḷandanāgarājamahesi	...	Smp III 680
Anula	...	DhA IV 50
Anulā (therī)	...	Smp I 80, 90, 91 Mv 19.65
Anuruddha	...	Smp III 698
Ariṭṭha (Prince)	...	Smp I 90, 101
Ariṭṭha	...	Smp I 62, 82, 102
Atthadassi	...	J I I
		B
Bhaṇḍika (Catunikāyika)	...	SA I 21
Bhātiya (King)	...	Smp II 305, 307 SV 440 SA Sn III 119 Man Sn 810, 811 Mv 34.37 foll. Ep. Zey. III 155
Bhattisena	...	CuNiA 108
Buddhadeva	...	J I I
Buddhamitta	...	Pap Sn 1029
Buddharakkhita	...	Smp I 62 Vi I 154
Buddhasīha	...	BuA I
		C
Cakkana (upāsaka)	...	Att 103 Pap I 203 SA II 150
Candamukha Tissa (king)	...	Pap Sn 869
Citta (mahāmatta)	...	SV 341
Citta	...	Man I 22
Cittagutta	...	Vi I 173
Coranāga (King)	...	Att 399 Smp II 473
Cūlābhaya	...	Smp I 63
Cūlābhaya (Tipiṭaka)	...	Smp III 591 Man I 26 Vi I 69, 96, II 394 SV 16, 457 Pap I 155, Pap Sn 902 Sum Vil II 442 SA Sn III 191, 206, 215

Cūlābhaya Sumana ... Smp II 305
Cūladeva ... Smp I 63
Cūlanāga (of Vadhatalanagara) ... SA II 166
Cūlanāga (Tipiṭaka) ... Smp I 62, III 699
Pap I 230, Pap Sn 1025
Man I 26, II 133, Man Sn 831
SV 16, 342, 452
Att 229, 230, 266, 267, 284
SA II 276, SA Sn III 184, 206
Pug. Pañ. Com. in J. P. T. S. 1914 pp 190, 223
PsmA 405
Vi II 398
Sum Vil III 744
Cūlapiṇḍapātika Tissa (of Girivihāra) ... Man II 215
Cullapiṇḍapātika Tissa (of Rohaṇa) ... Man I 36
Cūlasamudda ... Vi II 403
Cūlasiva ... Vi I 170
Cūlasiva (of Lokuttara) ... Sum Vil III 883
Cūlasiva (Saṃyuttabhāṇaka) ... Vi I 313
SV 446
Cūlasu (dha) mma ... SV 452
Cūlasumma (of Cittalapabbata) ... SV 489
Vi II 634
Cullasumana (Tipiṭaka) ... Sum Vil II 514
Cullasumma (Tipiṭaka) ... Pap I 230

D

Damiḷa devi (queen) ... Man I 22
Mv 35.48
Damiḷa dovārika ... Man II 215
Datta ... Smp Sn II 377
Dattābhaya ... Att 268
Dattābhaya (of Potaliyavihāra) ... Man II 173
Deva ... Smp I 62
Mv 36.29
Devānampiyatissa (king) ... Smp I 70, 71
Dhammadinna ... Man I 42
Pap I 184
SV 489
Mv 32.52
Dhammagutta ... J IV 490
Dhammapāli ... Smp I 63
Dhammika Tissa (king)
(*See* also Saddhātissa) ... SA Sn III 48 foll. 147
Dīgha ... Smp I 62
Dīghakārāyana (minister) ... Smp III 583
Dīghajantu (Damiḷa) ... Man II 230
Pap Sn 955
Dīghasumma ... Smp I 62, 104
Pap Sn 1008
Dīpa (king) ... SV 443
Duṭṭhagāmaṇī ... Att 80
CuNiA 79
Sum Vil II 640
Man II 212, 379
Pj II 71
DhA IV 50
Mv. chh. 22—32

G

Goda (of Kalyāṇi) ... Pap I 122
Godha ... Smp II 307, 430, 478, III 588
Goṇaraviya ... Pap II 286
Gopaka Sīvali ... SV 156

I

Isidatta ... SV 446

J

Jīvaka ... Man Sn 854, 855
Jotipāla ... Man Sn 854, 855

K

Kākavaṇṇa Tissa (king) ... Man II 64
Mv 22.22, foll. 23.16, 24.8 foll.
Kāla Buddharakkhita ... Pap II 293
Kāḷadeva ... Pap I 122
Kāḷasumana ... Smp I 62, 104
Karavika Tissa ... Smp III 646, 647
Smp Sn II 208, 237
Khema ... Smp I 63
Kujjatissa ... Man II 247
Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa (king) ... SA I 34
SV 452
Pap Sn 653
Mv 34. 28—36
Ep Zey III 156
Kuṭumbiyaputta Tissa ... Man I 49

L

Lakuṇṭaka-Atimbara (minister) ... DhA IV 50
Lambakaṇṇa (royal family) ... Man II 30
Mv 35.16 foll. 36.58 foll.
Lomasa Nāga ... Pap I 78

M

Mahā (thera) ... SV 359
Pap I 264
Mahā Abhaya ... Man II 249
Smp Sn II 59
Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga (king) ... Man I 22
Mv 34.68 foll.
Mahādatta (of Ariyakoṭi) ... Pap I 160
Mahādatta (of Haṅkaṇaka) ... SV 489
Vi II 634
Pap I 184
Mahādatta (of Moravāpi) ... Att 230, 267, 284, 286
PsmA 405
Mahādeva (of Bhaggira) ... J IV 490
Mahādeva (of Karaṇḍakola) ... Man Sn 611
Mahādeva (of Malaya) ... Vi I 241
Mahādhammarakkhita ... Att 267, 278
SV 81
PsmA 405
J. P. T. S. 1914 p. 190
Mahāgatimbayatissadatta ... Att 11
Mahākumāra ... Man I 77
Pap II 140
Mahāmitta ... SV 279
Man II 59
Pap I 294
SA Sn III 136
Mahānāga ... Smp I 63
Mahānāga (king) ... Att 399

Mahānāga (king) ... Smp II 473
Ep Zey III, 156, 214
Mahānāga (sub-king) ... Mv 14.56
Mahānāga (of Bhūtārāma) ... Mv 36.7
Mahānāga (of Kālavallimaṇḍapa) ... ApA 121
Att 399
J IV 490
SV 352
Pj II 56
Sum Vil I 190
SA Sn III 155
Mahānāga (of Piyaṅgudīpa) ... Vi II 706
Mahānāga (of Uccātālanka) ... SV 489
Mahānāga (of Vadhatalanagaragāma) ... SA II 166
Mahānigama-sāmi ... Smp Sn II 427
Mahāpaduma ... Smp I 184, 263, 283
„ II 368, 387, 477
„ III 535, 538, 556, 588, 596, 609, 644, 651, 683, 715, 719
„ Sn II 54, 59, 208, 282, 287, 289, 315
Mahāpaduma (of Rohaṇa) ... Mv 35.30 foll.
Mahāpaduma (of the time of king Vasabha) ... Smp II 471
Mahāphussa ... Pap I 257, II 369
Mahāphussadeva (of Ālindaka) ... Pj II 55
ApA 120
SA Sn III 154
Sum Vil I 189
Mahārakkhita ... Smp III 695
Mahārohaṇagutta ... Vi I 155, II 375
Att 187
Mahāsaṅgharakkhita ... J IV 490
Man I 40
Pap I 66, 197
Att 268
Mahāsena (king) ... Smp III 519
Mahāsiva ... Att 220, 266, 405
Pap I 269, 270, II 286
Man Sn 525
SA Sn III 159, 171, 198
Smp I 63, III 711, Smp Sn II 237
Sum Vil I 202
„ II 375, 430, 511, 543, 554
„ III 805, 881, 883, 892, 1013
Mahāsiva (of Bhātivaṅka) ... Mv 30.46
Mahāsiva (of Vāmanta) ... J IV 490
Mahāsiva (of Gāmantapabbhāra) ... Man I 40, 49
Sum Vil III 727
Mahāsiva (king) ... Mv 21.vv 1, 2
Mahāsoṇa ... SV 445
Mahāsumma ... Smp I 263, 264
„ II 368, 387, 477
„ III 535, 538, 556, 588, 596, 609, 646, 647, 651, 683, 698, 715, 719
Smp Sn II 54, 59, 208, 282, 287, 289, 315
Mv 23.60
Mahātipiṭaka ... Smp III 695
Mahātissa ... Man I 42
Mahātissa (of Anurārāma) ... Mv 36.30
Mahātissa (Bodhimātu) ... Man II 213
Mahātissa (of Cetiyapabbata) ... Vi I 20, 193, 194
Mahātissa (of Cīvaragumba) ... Vi I 43, 47
Mahātissa (of Kalyāṇigāma) ... Pj II 6, 7
Mahātissa (of Kupikkala) ... Mv 33.49 foll., 82, 95

Mahātissa (of Mahākarañjiya) ... Vi I 292
Mahātissa (of Maṇḍalārama) ... DhA IV 51
Mahātissa (of Puṇṇavallika) ... Att 116
Vi I 143
Smp III 644
Mahātissa (vanavāsī) ... Pj II 56
Pap I 258
Mahāvācakālaka (upāsaka) ... Man II 216
Mahāvyaggha ... Man II 247
Mv 32.54
Mahinda ... Smp I 69 foll.
ItA 259
Mv 20.30 foll.
Malimahādeva ... J IV 490
Mv 32.49
Maliyadeva ... Man I 38
Pap Sn 1024
Mallaka ... Vi I 265, 266
Milakkha Tissa ... Man I 35, 49
Pj II 236
SA I 332, II 273
Miḷhābhaya ... Vi I 79
Muṭasiva (king) ... Smp I 69

N

Nāga ... Smp I 62
Vi I 96
Man Sn 670, 671
Nāga (therī) ... Sum Vil II 535
Man Sn 670, 671

P

Padhāniya Tissa (of Cittalapabbata) ... Pap I 79
Padhāniya Tissa (of Khaṇḍacela) ... Pap I 78
Padhāniya Tissa (of Nāgapabbata) ... Vi 127
Paṇḍita Tissa ... Pug. Pañ. Com. in J. P. T. S. 1914 p. 223
Phussa ... Smp I 63
Phussadeva ... Smp I 63, 263
„ II 456, 495
„ III 651, 653, 685
Phussadeva (of Katakandhakāra) ... J. IV 490
Phussamitta ... Man I 53, 59
Piṅgala Buddharakkhita ... Pap I 204
Att 103
SA II 150
Pap Sn 978
Piṇḍapātika ... Man II 248
Piṇḍapātiya (of Ambariya) ... Man II 61 foll.
Pītimalla ... Man I 49
Pap I 234
Sum Vil III 748
Piturājā (king) ... SV 448
Smp II 440, 473
Mv 33.36
Puppha ... Smp I 63

R

Reva (Majjhimabhāṇaka) ... Vi I 95
Reva (of Malaya) ... Vi I 95

S

Saddhātissa (king)	...	Man I 23, II 30, 246 foll. SA Sn III 49 Mv 33.5 foll. Also *see* under Dhammikatissa
Sāketatissa	...	Man I 77 Pap II 140
Saṅghamittā (therī)	...	Smp I 90 Mv 20.48 foll.
Saṅgharakkhita	...	Att 187
Sahaya	...	Smp I 63
Sirinivāsa (king)	...	Smp Sn II 427
Sīva	...	Smp I 63
Soṇa	...	SV 439 Man II 17 Pap Sn 887 Kv 1
Sudhamma (sāmaṇera)	...	SV 389
Sudinna	...	Sum Vil II 566
Sumana (householder)	...	DhA IV 50
Sumana	...	Smp I 62
Sumana (of Kaḷhāla)	...	Sum Vil III 882
Sumanadeva (of Gāma)	...	Att 31
Summa (of Dibbavihāra)	...	SV 342
Summa (of Dīpavihāra)	...	Man II 133, Man Sn 831

T

Tissa (king)	...	SV 473 Pap II 294
Tissa (minister)	...	Man II 30, 212 Vi I 63
Tissa (a lay man)	...	SA Sn III 49
Tissa (sāmaṇera)	...	Pap II 91
Tissa (dahara-bhikkhu of Jambukola)	...	Smp Sn II 377
Tissa (,, of Pañcaggalalena)	...	ApA 128 Pj II 70 Pap II 144 CuNi A 78
Tissa	...	Smp I 62
Tissa	...	SA I 273
Tissa (asubhakammika)	...	Man I 47 SV 270
Tissa (catunikāyika)	...	Smp III 695
Tissa (catunikāyika of Kolitavihāra)	...	Man II 173
Tissa (of Cittalapabbata)	...	Man I 44
Tissa (Cullapiṇḍapātika)	...	Vi I 191 Pap II 146
Tissa (,, of Gāmeṇḍavāla)	...	Man I 36
Tissa (,, of Girī)	...	Man II 215
Tissa (of Koṭapabbata)	...	Vi I 292 Pug. Pañ. Com. in J. P. T. S. 1914, p. 186
Tissa (of Lenagiri)	...	Sum Vil II 534 Pap II 397 foll. Man Sn 669, 670
Tissa (Piṇḍapātiya)	...	Man II 61 foll.
Tissa (,, of Devaputta Mahāraṭṭha)		Vi I 292
Tissa (Punabbasukuṭumbikaputta)	...	SV 389
Tissabhūti of (Maṇḍalārāma)	...	SV 448 Man I 39 Att 30

Tissadatta	...	SV 275, 387, 389 Pap I 290 Man II 54 Vi II 403 Smp I 62, 104 Smp Sn II 377

U

Upāli	...	Smp I 63
Upatissa	...	Smp I 63, 263, II 456, III 651, 653, 685, 714
Uttara (janapada-manussa)	...	Man II 347

V

Vasabha (king)	...	Smp II 471 Pap Sn 869 Sum Vil I 291, II 635 Mv 35. 69 foll. Ep. Zey. I 66 foll., 211
Vattabbaka Nigrodha	...	SV 449
Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya (king)	...	*See* under Piturājā
Vijaya (king)	...	Smp I 72 Mv chh. 6, 7 ; Dip. 9.21
Visākha	...	Vī I 312

APPENDIX I_B

NAMES OF PLACES IN CEYLON
(Mentioned in the Commentaries)

A

Abhayagiri	... Smp III 583 Mv 33.79 foll. ; 33.96 foll. ; 35.120 ; 36.7, 33, 111, 112 ; 37.12 foll. ; 37.212 foll. Mv tr. p. 235 note 1 Cūl. Vol. I p. 3 note 2 Ep. Zey. I 225, 252, 253 Beal : Travels of Buddhist Pilgrims pp. 151, 157
Abhayavāpi	... Smp I 88 SA Sn III 151 Mv 17.35 foll. Mv tr. p. 74 note 3
Adam's Peak	... Man II 230 Pap Sn 955 Beal : Travels of Buddhist Pilgrims p. 150 J.R.A.S. New Series Vol. 15 pp. 338 foll.
Ahidīpa	... CpA 19
Aḷajanapada	... SV 447
Ālinda	... ApA 120 Pj II 55 SV 352 SA Sn III 154
Ambaṅgana	... Smp I 101
Ambalaṭṭhikā (at Lohapāsāda)	... Sum Vil I 131, II 635
Ambariya vihāra	... Att 103 Man II 61 foll. Pap I 204 SA II 150
Ambatthala	... Man I 22 Smp I 73 Mv 34.71 ; 36.9, 106 ; 37.68, 69 Mv tr. p. 90 note 1
Ambilahāla vihāra	... Pap Sn 1025
Antarasamudda	... Smp II 306
Antarasobbha	... Pap Sn 1024
Antaravaḍḍhamāna	... SA II 150
Anurādhapura	... ApA I 219 Uda 238 SV 473 Man II 37 DhA I 398, IV 50 Vi I 90 SA I 222, II 194, SA Sn III 151 J. V. 254 Smp Sn II 178 Sum Vil II 573, 596 Mv 7.43 Legge : Fa Hien's Records of Buddhist Kingdoms p. 104
Anurādhavāpi-pāli	... SA Sn III 151
Ariyakoṭi	... Pap I 160
Aṭṭhasaṭṭhilena	... Smp I 82 Mv 16.12, 13, 14

B

Bhaggirī	... J. IV 490
Bhātaragāma	... Pap II 399 Man Sn 670, 671
Bherapāsānaka Vihāra	... Man II 347
Bhokkantagāma	... DhA IV 50

C

Candanagāma	... Smp I 100 Mv 19.54, 62
Cetāligāma	... Smp I 90
Cetāvigāma	... Mv 17.59
Cetiyapabbata	... Smp I 82—85, 100, II 306, 474 Pap I 78, II 140, 294, 398 Pap Sn 653, 1024 Man I 22, 77 ; Man Sn 523, 670 Vi I 20, 62, 120 SA I 34, SA Sn III 48 foll. Sum Vil II 535, III 1011 Att 399 SV 473 Mv ch. 16 ; 17.9, 23 ; 19.62; 20.33, 45; 21.22 ; 34.30, 31, 64, 75 foll. ; 35.11, 80 ; 36.130 Mv tr. p. 114 note 3
Chātapabbata	... Smp I 74 Man I 26
Cittalapabbata	... Att 350 CuNiA 54 SV 264, 445, 489, 498 Pap I 22, 79, 185, 275 ; II 91 Pap Sn 1024, 1025 Vi I 120, 127, 173, 292, 306, 313, II 634 Man I 37, 44 ; II 250 Smp III 680, 681 SA II 166, 252 Sum Vil III 774, 994 Mv 22.23 ; 24.9 Mv tr. p. 148 note 2
Cīvaragumba	... Vi I 43
Corakamahāvihāra	... Vi I 38
Coriyassara	... SV 447
Cūlaṅganiya	... Man II 212
Cūlaṅganiyapiṭṭhi	... Mv 24.19 ; Mv tr. p. 165 note 5
Cūlanāgalena	... Vi I 127

D

Dakkhiṇa-vihāra	... Man II 172 Mv 33.88 ; 35.5 ; 36.12, 13, 35, 107
Dakkhiṇagiri-vihāra	... Pap II 293 Vi I 120 Mv 33.8, 98
Dakkhiṇa-Malaya-janapada	... Man I 92
Devaputta Mahāraṭṭha	... Vi I 292
Dīghavāpi cetiya	... Smp I 89 SA I 341 Mv 1.79
Dīghavāpi-raṭṭha	... DhA IV 50
Dīghavāpi-vihāra	... Pap Sn 1024 Mv 33.10

Dīghavāpi	... Man II 249
	Pap Sn 820
	Mv 24.2
Dibba-vihāra	... SV 342
Dīpa-vihāra	... Man II 133 ; Man Sn 831
	Pap I 155
Donuppalavāpi gāma	... Pug. Pañ. Com. in J. P. T. S. 1914 p. 184
Dvāramaṇḍalā	... Smp I 90
	Mv 17.59 ; 23.24
	Mv tr. p. 68 note 1
G	
Gaggaravāliya-aṅgana	... Pap I 234
Galambatittha-vihāra	... ApA 121
	SV 352, 353
	Pj II 57
	Mv 35.85—86
Gāmeṇḍavāla-vihāra	... Pap Sn 1024
	Man I 35 foll.
Gāma	... Att 31
Gavaravāla-aṅgana	... Man II 248
Gavilaṅgana	... Pap Sn 758
Girigāma	... ApA 128
	CuNiA 78
	Pap II 144
	Pj II 70
Girigāmakaṇṇa	... SV 452
Girikaṇḍa-vihāra	... Att 116
	Vi I 143
Girikaṇḍa mountain	... Mv 10.28
Giri vihāra	... Man II 215
	Sum Vil II 514
Goṭasamudda	... Sum Vil II 695
Guttasālagāma	... Att 398
H	
Haṅkana (ka)	... Vi II 634
	Pap I 184
Hatthibhoga janapada	... Pap II 377
	Mv 35.44
Hatthikucchi pabbhāra	... Vi I 110
Hatthikucchi vihāra	... Vi I 120
I	
Issarasamaṇa vihāra	... Smp I 100
	Mv 19.61 ; 20.14 ; 35.47 ; 35.87 ; 36.36
J	
Jaggaranadī	... SV 447
Jambukola	... Smp I 98, 100; Smp Sn II 377
	SV 389, 446
	Sum Vil II 695
	Mv 11.23 ; 18.7 ; 19.28, 60
Jambukola cetiya	... Smp Sn II 377
K	
Kabupelanda vihāra	... SV 294
Kacchaka-tittha	... Man II 216
	Mv 23.17 ; 25.12
	Mv tr. p. 72 note 2
Kacchaka-daha	... SV 352
Kadamba River	... SA I 34, 222
	Pap Sn 653
	Mv tr. p. 58 note 3
Kājaragāma	... Smp I 100
	Man I 37
	Mv 19.54, 62
	Mv tr. p. 132 note 1
	Ep. Zey. III 212 foll.
Kalakacchagāma (in Kalyāṇi)	... Pap Sn 1025
Kāladīghavāpigāma (in Kalyāṇī)	... ApA 128
	CuNiA 78
	Man I 23
	Pap II 144
Kalamba-nadī	... *See* under Kadamba River
Kalamba-tittha	... SA Sn III 155
Kāladīghagāma	... Pj II 70
Kālavallimaṇḍapa	... ApA 121
	Att 399
	SV 352
	J IV 490
	Pj II 56
	Pap I 258
	SA Sn III 155
Kālagāma	... Pj II 30
Kālakagāma	... SV 448
Kallagāma	... Man I 38, 92
Kallavālagāma	... Thera A II 94
	Man I 160
Kallaka-mahāvihāra	... DhA IV 51
Kalumbara	... Man II 250
Kalyāṇi	... Pap Sn 1025
	SV 295, 296
	J II 128
	SA II 230
	Pj II 6, 7
	Vi II 689
	Mv 1.63, 1.74 foll.; 22.13 foll.
Kalyāṇi vihāra	... ApA 128
	CuNiA 78
	Smp I 89
	Pj II 70
	Mv 32.51 ; 36.17, 34
Kalyaṇinadī-mukhadvāra	... Pap Sn 1008
Kaṇikārapadhānaghara	... Pap I 78
Kaṇikāravālika-samudda vihāra	... Man I 77
	Pap II 140
Kaṇṭaka cetiya	... Smp I 82
	Mv 16.12, 13
Kaṅkanaka	... SV 489
Karaṇḍakola	... Man Sn 611
Karadīpa	... CpA 19
Kāraliyagiri	... Vi I 96
Kassakalena	... SV 279
	SA Sn III 136
	Man II 59
	Pap I 294
Kaṭakandhakāra	... J IV 490
	Smp Sn II 376
	Vi I 228
Khaṇḍacela vihāra	... Pap I 78
Kilañjakāsanasāladvāra	... Pap I 234
Kolita vihāra	... Man II 173
Koraṇḍaka vihāra	... Vi I 91

Koṭapabbata vihāra ...	Vi I 292 DhA IV 50 Pug. Pañ. Com. in J.P.T.S. 1914 p. 186 Mv 22.25 ; 23.55 foll.
Kuṭelitissamahāvihāra ...	SV 293 Pap Sn 699
Kumbhakāragāma ...	Vi I 91
Kupuvena vihāra ...	Pap Sn 700
Kuraṇḍakamahālena ...	Vi I 38
Kurundaka ...	Man I 53, 59
Kuruvaka-tittha ...	Pap Sn 1025
Kutimbiya vihāra ...	Man II 30
Kuṭāli vihāra ...	Pap Sn 1024 Mv 22.23

L

Lenagiri ...	Pap II 397 Sum Vil II 534
Licchikali ...	SA II 230
Lohapāsāda ...	Att 31 UdA 101 Vi I 91, 97 DhA III 472, IV 74 Man I 23, II 247 Smp I 101, Smp Sn II 120 SA I 74, II 276 Sum Vil I 131, II 581, 635 Pap II 185, Pap Sn 1024 Mv 15.205 ; ch. 27 ; 32.9 ; 33.6, 7, 30 ; 34.39 35.3 ; 36.25, 52, 102, 124 ; 37.11, 62 ; Mv tr. P. 112 note 5 Cūl tr. p. 3 note 1
Lokandara vihāra ...	Pap Sn 1024
Lokantara vihāra ...	Smp Sn II 377

M

Madhuaṅgana-gāma ...	Man II 215
Mahābodhi ...	Smp I 89 SV 449, 451
Mahābodhi-aṅgana ...	Smp Sn II 120
Mahābodhi-dvārakoṭṭhaka ...	Sum Vil III 1011 Man Sn 523
Mahācetiya ...	Pap I 264, II 145, 403 Pap Sn 698 foll., 882, 955 Smp I 89, 92, 101 Smp Sn II 120, 377 Sum Vil II 578, 611, III 899 Man I 27, II 5, 214, 231 Man Sn 811 Vi I 143 SV 292, 293, 446, 449, 451 SA Sn III 159 CuNiA 108 Mv 1.82 ; 15.51 foll. ; 20.43 ; ch. 28 ; 32.3 ; foll. ; 32.8 ; 33.5 , 22, 23, 31 ; 34.39 foll. ; 60 foll. ; 34.70 ; 35.2, 17, 80 ; 36.24, 65 foll. 126

Mahāgāma ...	Man I 40, II 60 foll., 63, 249 Pap I 79, Pap Sn 820 Sum Vil II 695 Mv 22.8 foll. ; 24.1 Mv tr. p. 146 note 5 ,, p. 164 note 3
Mahāgirigāma ...	Pap II 397
Mahākarañjiya vihāra ...	Vi I 292
Mahākhīragāma ...	Man Sn 669
Mahāmaṇḍapa ...	Pap Sn 1024
Mahāmunigāma ...	DhA IV 50
Mahānāgavana ...	Smp I 83 Mv 1.21, 22
Mahāpuṇṇagāma ...	DhA IV 50
Mahātittha ...	SV 448 Smp Sn II 46 Mv tr. p. 60 note 1 Ep. Zey. III 135
Mahāvihāra ...	ApA 128 DhA IV 74 Pap I I, 197 foot note, 234 Pap II 297, Pap Sn 869, 1030 Kv 1 Att 2 UdA 2 J I I, 85 Vi I 2, 96, 312 Pj II 71 CuNiA 108 Sum Vil II 578, 611 Sum Vil III 748, 1011 SV 292, 446, 449, 451 SA Sn III 151 Smp II 307, III 583, Smp Sn II 314 Mv 20.38 ; 33.97 ; 35.65. 88; 36.2, 10 foll. ; 32, 74, 105 ; 37.3 foll., 54 foll. ; 85, 232 foll. Mv tr. p. 77 note 1 Mv tr. p. 99 note 4 Mv tr. p. 113 note 8 Beal : Fa Hien p. 159
Mahindaguhā ...	Vi I 110 Mv 20.16
Malaya	Man I 40 Vi I 241 SV 224 Mv 7.68 ; 24.7 ; 37.6 foll. Mv tr. p. 60 note 4
Mālārāma vihāra ...	SV 452
Maṇḍalārāma ...	Att 30 SV 448 DhA IV 51 Man I 38, 92 Pap I 66
Maṅgana ...	Man II 247 Mv 32.53
Maṅkulakārāma vihāra ...	SA Sn III 15
Maricavaṭṭi ...	ApA 128 CuNiA 79 Pj II 71 Pap II 145 Mv 26.8 foll. ; 35.121 ; 36.33, 36, 107
Meghavana ...	Smp I 81

Mihintale ... *See* under Cetiyapabbata, and also I.H.Q. Vol. II No. 1 p. 10
Beal : Fa Hien p. 158
Hasting's Ency. of Religion and Ethics, Vol. III p. 332
Mv tr. p. 89 note 3

Missakapabbata ... Smp I 73
Mv tr. p. 89 note 3

Moravāpi ... Att 230, 267, 284, 286
PsmA 405

Mūluppalavāpi vihāra ... Pap II 385

Mutiṅgana ... Smp I 89
Pap Sn 1024

N

Nāgadīpa ... Man II 311 ; Man Sn 669
CpA 19
Pap II 398
Sum Vil II 534, III 899
SA II 230
J II 128 ; III 187 ; IV 238
SV 433, 444, 446, 457
Mv 1.47, 54 ; 20.25 ; 35.124 ; 36.9
Mv tr. p. 6 note 2

Nāgamahāvihāra (in Kalyāṇi) ... Pap Sn 1025

Nāgamahāvihāra (in Rohaṇa) ... SV 407
Mv 22.9 ; 35.29
Mv tr. p. 147 note 1

Nāgapabbata ... Vi I 127

Nakulanagara ... Att 399

Nānāmukha ... SA II 230

Nandanavana ... Smp I 81, 82
Mv 15.202 ; Mv tr. p. 77 note 1

Niṅkapoṇṇapadhānaghara ... SV 489

P

Paceli vihāra ... Pap Sn 887

Pācīnagharaka vihāra ... Pap Sn 1024

Pācīnakhaṇḍarājī ... Sum Vil III 1010
Man Sn 523
Vi I 90, 91

Padhānaghara ... Pap I 78

Pahecivatthu ... Smp I 86

Pañcaggalalena ... ApA 128
CuNiA 78
Pj II 70
Pap II 144

Pañcamahāvihāra ... Smp II 306

Pañcanikāyamaṇḍala ... Vi I 96
Sum Vil II 581
Pap I 197 foot note 1

Paṅgura vihāra ... Pap II 377

Pañhambaṅgaṇa ... Sum Vil III 1011

Pañhamaṇḍapaṭṭhāna ... SA Sn III 151

Paṭhamacetiya ... Smp I 79, 100
Mv 19.61
Mv tr. 95 note 2

Peṅnamana ... Man Sn 524

Penambaṅgana ... Att 399

Pipphali vihāra ... SV 439

Piyaṅgudīpa ... Vi II 706
Sum Vil II 648
Mv 24.25 ; 25.104 ; 32.52
Mv tr. p. 166 note 4

Piyaṅguguhā ... Pap I 78

Piyaṅgupariveṇa ... SV 292

Potaliya vihāra ... Man II 173

Puṇṇavallika ... Att 116
Vi I 143
Smp III 644

R

Rājamātu vihāra ... SA I 222

Rājāyatana cetiya ... Sum Vil III 899

Rohaṇa ... Sum Vil II 695
SV 407
Smp I 100
Man I 33, II 30, 347
Vi I 91, 96
Mv 22.6 ; 23.13 ; 37.6 foll.
I. H. Q. Vol. II No. 1 p. 12

S

Sākiyavaṃsa vihāra ... Pap Sn 1024

Samuddagiri vihāra ... SA Sn III 15

Setambaṅgana ... Att 399 (foot note 4)

Silācetiya ... Man II 247
Mv 1.83 Mv tr. p. 9 note 3

Sirīsavatthu ... J II 127, 128
Mv 7.32

Sīhaladīpa ... ApA 119
CuNiA 78
Sum Vil I 188
Pap I 203, 257
SA II 150
Pi II 30, 53, 55, 57, 70
Pi II (2) 397

Soṇagiripāda ... SV 439
Man II 17
Pap Sn 887

Sudhāmuṇḍaka ... Man I 26

Sumanagiri vihāra ... Man II 230
Pap Sn 955

T

Talaṅgara ... SV 389, 489
Man I 42
Vi II 392, 634
Mv 32.52

Talaṅgaratissapabbata ... Pap I 184

Tālapiṭṭhika vihāra ... SV 156

Tāḷavelimagga ... Vi I 63

Tambapaṇṇidīpa ... Pap I 234, II 293, 295
Pap Sn 882, 920, 978
Smp I 69, Smp Sn II 261
J I 85, II 127, IV 490
Vi I 36, 312 : II 392, 393
SA II 111
Kv 59
Man II 37, Man Sn 607
Sum Vil II 433
Mv 6.47 ; 7.39

Tambapaṇṇisara ... J II 129
Tatthakasāla pariveṇa ... Man II 30
Therambattha lena ... Att 187
Therambatthala ... Vi I 155, II 375
Thūpārāma ... Smp I 86, 87, 89, 92, 100
Smp Sn II 120
J V 254
SV 449, 451
Vi I 91
Man II 247
SA I 222, SA Sn III 151
UdA 238
Pap Sn 713
Sum Vil II 611, 612
Mv 15.192 ; 17.30, 50, 64 ; 19.61 ; 20.52 ; 33.23, 24 ; 35.3, 80, 87, 91; 36.4, 106, 107, 114. 128, 129; 37. 28, 207
Mv tr. p. 118 note 2
Ep. Zey. I 208
Tissamahārāma ... Man I 40, 42 ; II 61, 249
Pap I 184 ; II 91 ; Pap Sn 1025
Vi II 392
DhA IV 51
SV 445
Sum Vil II 581
Mv 20.25 ; 22.3 ; 24.13 ; 25.2 foll.
Mv tr. p. 138 note 3
Tivakkabrāhmaṇagāma ... Smp I 100
Mv 19.37 foll. ; 19.61
Pap II 92
Tissattheracetiya ... Pap II 92
Tulādhāra pabbata ... Vi I 96
Mv 23.90 ; 35.30

U

Uccatalaṅka ... SV 489
Uccavālika ... Vi II 634
Ullabbhakolakaṇṇikā ... Man II 249
Uppalavāpi ... SV 452
Uparimaṇḍala ... J IV 490
Uttamadevi vihāra ... Pap II 297
Uttaragāma ... Pap Sn 978
Uttaravaḍḍhamāna ... Att 103
Pap I 204

V

Vadhatalanagaragāma ... SA II 166
Vajagaragiri vihāra ... Pap I 122
Valliyavīthi ... Man II 63
Vālikā vihāra ... SV 389
Vāmantapabbhāra ... J IV 490
Vātakapabbata vihāra ... Pap Sn 1024
Vātakasitapabbata vihāra ... Pap II 294
Vattakālakagāma ... Att 116
Vi I 143
Veṇu nadī ... SV 446

APPENDIX IIA

QUOTATIONS FROM THE PORĀṆAS

(*Verse*)

1. Attani hitamajjhatte ahite ca catubbidhe
Yadā passati nānattaṃ sakaṃ cittaṃ nibandhati.
(1) Vi. I.307

2. Adhimokkhe ca paggahe upaṭṭhāne ca kampati
Upekkhāvajjanāya ca upekkhāya nikantiyā.
(1) Vi. II. 637
(2) SA. II. 201 (Not as Porāṇa)

3. Anāgate pi saṃsāre appavatte na dissati
Evam attham aññāya titthiyā āsayaṃ vasi.
(1) Vi. II 602

4. Annaṃ pānaṃ khādanīyam bhojanañ ca mahārahaṃ
Ekadvārena pavisitvā navadvārehi sandati.
(1) Vi. I. 346

5. Annaṃ pānaṃ khādanīyaṃ bhojanañ ca mahārahaṃ
Ekaratti parivāsā sabbaṃ bhavati pūtikaṃ.
(1) Vi. I. 346

6. Annaṃ pānaṃ khādanīyaṃ bhojanañ ca mahārahaṃ
Bhuñjati abhinandanto nikkhāmento jigucchati.
(1) Vi. I. 346

7. Annaṃ pānaṃ khādanīyaṃ bhojanañ ca mahārahaṃ
Bhuñjati saparivāro nikkhāmento nilīyati.
(1) Vi. I. 346

8. Ayaṃ kammabhūmi idha maggabhāvanā
Ṭhānāni saṃvejaniyā bahū idha
Saṃvega saṃyojaniyesu vatthusu
Saṃvega jāto va payuñja yoniso.
(1) SA Sn III. 31

9. Asīti pada sahassāni tathā nava satāni ca
Anusandhi nayā ete Majjhimassa pakāsitā.
(1) Pap I. 2

10. Ādānanikkhepanato vayovuḍḍhatthagāmito
Āhārato ca ututo kammato cā pi cittato
Dhammatārūpato satta vitthārena vipassati.
(1) Vi. II. 618

11. Imāni aṭṭhagguṇam uttamāni
Disvā tahiṃ sammasati punappunaṃ
Ādittacelassirasūpamo muni
Bhaṅgānupassī amatassa pattiyā.
(1) Vi. II. 645

12. Ete nāgā mahāpaññā vidayaññū maggakovidā
Vinayaṃ dīpe pakāsesuṃ Piṭakaṃ Tambapaṇṇiyā.
(1) Smp I. 62

13. Evaṃ kammo vipāke ca vattamāne sahetuke
Bījarukkhādikānam va pubba koṭi na ñāyati.
(1) Vi II. 602

14. Evam etaṃ abhiññāya bhikkhu Buddhassa sāvako
Gambhīraṃ nipuṇaṃ suññam paccayaṃ paṭivijjhati.
(1) Vi II. 603

15. Evam evaṃ akusalā andhabāla puthujjanā
Pañca gaṇhant' anatthāni bhave jātābhinanditā.
(1) SA Sn III. 41

16. Obhāse ceva ñāne ca pītiyā ca vikampati
Passaddhiyā sukhe ceva yehi cittam pavedhati.
(1) Vi II. 637
(2) SA II. 201 (Not as Porāṇā)

17. Kammaṃ natthi vipākamhi pāko kamme na vijjati
Aññam aññaṃ ubho suññā na ca kammaṃ vinā phalaṃ.
(1) Vi II. 603

18. Kammassa kārako natthi vipākassa ca vedako
Suddha dhammā pavattanti evetaṃ sammadassanaṃ.
(1) Vi II. 602

19. Kāmesu chandaṃ paṭighaṃ vinodaye
Uddhacca middhaṃ vicikiccha pañcamaṃ
Vivekapāmojjakarena cetasā
Rājā va suddhanta gato tahiṃ rame.
(1) Vi I. 152
(2) PsmA 163

20. Kālāvakañ ca gaṅgeyyaṃ paṇḍaraṃ tamba piṅgalaṃ
Gandha maṅgala hemañ ca uposatha chaddant'ime dasā.
(1) PsmA 451
(2) SV 397
(3) Pap II. 25
(4) SA II. 43
(5) CuNiA 37

21. Khandhā nirujjhanti na c'atthi añño
Khandhānaṃ bhedo maraṇan ti vuccati
Tesaṃ khayaṃ passati appamatto
Maṇiṃ va vijjhaṃ vajirena yoniso.
(1) Vi II. 644
(2) PsmA 183

22. Gantvāna maṇḍalamālaṃ nāgavikkanta cāriko
Obhāsayanto lokaggo nisīdi varamāsane.
(1) UdA 415
(2) SA Sn III. 66

23. Gantvāna so satta padāni Gotamo
Disā vilokesi samā samantato
Aṭṭhaṅgupetaṃ giram abbhhudīrayi
Sīho yathā pabbatam uddhani thito.
(1) Sum Vil I. 61
(2) PsmA 145
(3) Man I. 105
(4) BuA 14 (Not as Porāṇā)
(5) Pap I. 47
(6) MNiA 127

24. Cattāḷīse vāpadānāni catu vaggāni yassa ca
Idaṃ therī' padānan ti catutthaṃ anulomato.
(1) ApA 85

25. Cittamhi saṃkiliṭṭhamhi saṃkilissanti mānavā.
Citte suddhe visujjhanti iti vuttaṃ mahesinā.
(1) SA II. 327
(2) ItA 215

26. Cūladevo ca medhāvī vinaye ca visārado
Sīvatthero ca medhāvī vinaye sabb'attha kovido.
(1) Smp I. 63

27. Cūlābhayo ca medhāvī vinaye ca visārado
Tissatthero ca medhāvī saddhamma vaṃsa kovido.
(1) Smp I. 63

28. Jalanto dipa rukkho va pabbat'agge yathā sikhī
Devānaṃ pāricchatto va sabba phullo virocati.
(1) UdA 416
(2) SA Sn III. 66

29. Nātañ ca ñāṇañ ca ubho vipassati.
(1) Vi II. 642
(2) PsmA 182

30. Tato Ariṭṭho medhāvī Tissadatto ca paṇḍito
Visārado Kālasumano thero ca Dīgha nāmako.
(1) Smp I. 62

31. Tato pāsāṇake ramme pārāyana samāgame
Amataṃ pāpayi Buddho cuddasa pāṇa koṭiyo.
(1) Pj II. (2) 604
(2) CuNiA 59

32. Tato Mahindo Iṭṭhiyo Uttiyo Sambalo pi ca
Bhadda nāmo ca paṇḍito
Ete nāgā mahāpaññā Jambudipā Idhāgatā.
(1) Smp 1.62

33. Tathā na anto kammassa vipāko upalabbhati
Bahiddhā pi na kammassa na kammaṃ tattha vijjati
(1) Vi II. 603

34. Tassa sisso mahāpañño Puppha nāmo bahussuto
Sāsanaṃ anurakkhanto Jambudīpe patiṭṭhito.
(1) Smp I. 63

35. Tahiṃ nisinno varadammasārathī
Devātidevo sata puñña lakkhaṇo
Buddhāsane majjhagato virocati
Suvaṇṇa nikkhaṃ viya paṇḍukambale.
(1) UdA 416
(2) SA Sn III. 66

36. Tīṇi sandhi sahassāni tathā nava satāni ca
Anusandhi nayā ete Majjhimassa pakāsitā.
(1) Pap I. 2

37. Diṭṭhi bandhana bandhā te taṇhā sotena vuyhare
Taṇhā sotena vuyhantā na te dukkhā pamuccare.
(1) Vi II. 603

38. Dīghasumano ca paṇḍito punareva Kālasumano
Nāgatthero ca Buddharakkhito
Tissatthero ca medhāvī Devatthero ca paṇḍito.
(1) Smp I. 62

39. Dīpe tāraka rājā va paññāya atirocatha
Upatisso ca medhāvī Phussadevo mahākathī
(1) Smp I. 63

40. Duggandhaṃ asuciṃ byādhiṃ jaraṃ maraṇa pañcamaṃ
Anatthā honti pañc'ete miḷha litte bhavantare.
(1) SA Sn III. 41

41. Duggandhaṃ asucim byādhiṃ visaṃ maraṇa pañcamaṃ
Anatthā honti pañc'ete miḷha litte bhujaṅgame.
(1) SA Sn III. 41

42. Dvāre caranti kammāni na dvāradvāra cārino
Tasmā dvārehi kammāni aññam aññaṃ vavatthitā.
(1) Att 84

43. Dve asīti sahassāni ajjhogāḷhe mahaṇṇave
Accuggato tāvadeva cakkavāḷa siluccayo
Parikkhipitvā taṃ sabbaṃ lokadhātumayaṃ ṭhito
(1) Vi I. 206
(2) CuNiA 30

44. Dhammapāli nāmo ca Rohaṇe sādhu pūjito
Tassa sisso mahāpañño Khema nāmo tipeṭako.
(1) Smp I. 63

45. Na kāyato jāyare phassa pañcamā
Na phassato no ca ubhinnam antarā
Hetuṃ paṭicca pabhavanti saṅkhatā
Yathā pi saddo pahaṭāya bheriyā.
(1) Vi II. 596

46. Na ghānato jāyare phassa pañcamā
Na saddato no ca ubhinnam antarā
Hetuṃ paṭicca pabhavanti saṅkhatā
Yathā pi saddo pahaṭāya bheriyā.
(1) Vi II. 595

47. Na cakkhuto jāyare phassa pañcamā
Na rūpato no ca ubhinnam antarā
Hetuṃ paṭicca pabhavanti saṅkhatā
Yathā pi saddo pahaṭāya bheriyā.
(1) Vi II. 595

48. Na jivhāto jāyare phassa pañcamā
Na rasato no ca ubhinnam antarā
Hetuṃ paṭicca pabhavanti saṅkhatā
Yathā pi saddo pahaṭāya bheriyā.
(1) Vi II. 595

49. Na nikāmalābhī mettāya kusalī ti pavuccati
Yadā catasso sīmāyo sambhinnā honti bhikkhuno.
(1) Vi I. 307

50. Na vatthurūpā pabhavanti saṅkhatā
Na cāpi dhammāyatanehi niggatā
Hetuṃ paṭicca pabhavanti saṅkhatā
Yathā pi saddo pahaṭāya bheriyā.
(1) Vi II. 596

51. Na sotato jāyare phassa pañcamā
Na saddato no ca ubhinnam antarā
Hetuṃ paṭicca pabhavanti saṅkhatā
Yathā pi saddo pahaṭāya bheriyā.
(1) Vi II. 595

52. Na h'ettha devo brahmā vā saṃsārass'atthi kārako
Suddha dhammā pavattanti hetu sambhāra paccayā.
(1) Vi II. 603

53. Nāmañ ca rūpañ ca idh'atthi saccato
Na h'ettha satto manujo ca vijjati
Suññaṃ idaṃ yantam ivābhisaṅkhataṃ
Dukkhassa puñjo tiṇakaṭṭhasādiso.
(1) Vi II. 595

54. Nikkhaṃ jambonadass'eva nikkhittaṃ paṇḍukambale
Virocati vītamalo mani verocano yathā.
(1) UdA 416
(2) SA Sn III. 66

55. Nimitte ṭhapayaṃ cittaṃ nānākāraṃ vibhāvayaṃ
Dhīro assāsapassāse sakaṃ cittaṃ nibandhati.
(1) Vi I. 286
(2) PsmA 344
(3) Smp II. 428

56. Pañcasata dasāpadānāni ekapaññāsa vaggato
Idaṃ therāpadānan ti tatiyaṃ anulomato.
(1) ApA 84

57. Pañc'eva apadānāni pañca suttāni yassa ca
Idaṃ paccekabuddhāpādanan ti dutiyaṃ anulomato
(1) ApA 84

58. Pañc'eva apadānāni pañca suttāni yassa ca
Idaṃ buddhāpadānan ti pathamam anulomato.
(1) ApA 84

59. Palinā Jambudīpato haṃsarājā va ambare
Evam uppatitā therā nipatiṃsu naguttame.
(1) Smp I. 71

60. Pāṭali simbali jambu devānaṃ paricchattako
Kadambo kapparukkho ca sirīsena bhavati sattamaṃ.
(1) Vi I. 206
(2) CuNiA 30

61. Punareva Upāli medhāvī vinaye ca visārado
Mahānāgo mahāpañño saddhamma vaṃsa kovido.
(1) Smp I. 63

62. Punareva Sahayo medhavī piṭake sabbattha kovido
Tissa thero ca medhāvī vinaye ca visārado.
(1) Smp I. 63

63. Punareva sumano medhāvī Phussa nāmo bahussuto
Mahākathī Mahāsivo piṭake sabbattha kovido.
(1) Smp I. 63

64. Punareva Sumano medhāvī vinaye ca visārado
Bahussuto Cūlanāgo gajo va duppadhaṃsiyo.
(1) Smp I. 62

65. Purato puraseṭṭhassa pabbate megha sannibhe
Patiṭṭhahimsu kūṭamhi haṃsā va nagam uddhani.
(1) Smp I. 71

66. Phalena suññaṃ taṃ kammaṃ phalaṃ kamme na vijjati
Kammañ ca kho upādāya tato nibbattate phalaṃ.
(1) Vi I. 603

67. Bhagavā ti vacanaṃ seṭṭhaṃ bhagavā ti vacanam uttamaṃ.
Garugāravayutto so bhagavā tena vuccati.

(1) Vi I. 209	(2) Sum Vil I. 34
(3) PsmA 367	(4) BuA 31
(5) UdA 23	(6) Man I. 14
(7) Pap I. 10	(8) MNiA 186
(9) Smp I. 122	(10) ItA 3
(11) SA I. 12	(12) Pj 11, 107 (not as Porāṇā

68. Mahāsālo va samphullo Meru rājā va alaṅkato
Suvaṇṇa rūpa saṅkāso padumo kokāsako yathā.
(1) UdA 416
(2) SA Sn III. 66

69. Mahindo nāma nāmena saṅghatthero tadā ahu
Iddhiyo Vuttiyo thero Bhaddasālo ca Sambalo.
(1) Smp I. 70

70. Muhuttajāto va gavampati yathā
Samehi pādehi phusī vasundharaṃ
So vikkami satta padāni Gotamo
Setañ ca chattaṃ anudhārayum marū.

(1) Sum Vil I. 61	(2) PsmA 145
(3) Man I. 105	(4) Pap I. 46
(5) MNiA 127	(6) BuA 14 (not as Porāṇā)

71. Yaṃ passati taṃ na diṭṭhaṃ
Yaṃ diṭṭhaṃ taṃ na passati
Apassayaṃ bajjhate mūḷho
Bajjhamāno na muccati.

(1) Sum Vil III. 757	(2) PsmA 122
(3) NA 81	(4) Pap I. 242
(5) MNiA 32	

72. Yathā thambhe nibandheyya vaccham damam naro idha
Bandheyy'evam sakam cittam satiyārammaṇe daḷham.
(1) Vi I. 269 (2) Sum Vil III. 763
(3) PsmA 335 (4) Pap I. 247
(5) Smp II. 406

73. Yathā na suriye aggi na maṇimhi na gomaye
Na tesam bahiso atthi sambhārehi ca jāyati.
(1) Vi II. 603

74. Yathā pi dīpiko nāma nilīyitvā gaṇhati mige
Tath evāyam buddhaputto yuttayogo vipasako
Araññam pavisitvāna gaṇhāti phalam uttamam.
(1) Vi I. 270 (2) Sum Vil III. 764
(3) PsmA 336 (4) Pap I. 248
(5) Smp II. 407

75. Yamakam nāma rūpañ ca ubho aññoññanissitā
Ekasmim bhijjamānasmim ubho bhijjanti paccayā.
(1) Vi II. 595

76. Ye keci sappam gaṇhanti miḷhalittam mahāvisam
Pañca ganhant' anatthāya loke sappābhinandino.
(1) SA Sn III. 41

77. Rūpamhi saṅkiliṭṭhamhi saṅkilissanti mānavā
Rūpe suddhe visujjhanti anakkhātam mahesinā.
(1) SA Sn II. 327
(2) ItA 215

78. Vatthum kālañ ca desañ ca aggham paribhoga pañcamam
Tulayitvā pañca ṭhānāni dhāreyy' attham vicakkhaṇo.
(1) Smp II. 305

79. Vinayam te vācayimsu piṭakam Tambapaṇṇiyā
Nikāye pañca vācesum satta c'eva pakarane.
(1) Smp I. 62

80. Vedisagirimhi Rājagahe vasitvā timsa rattiyo
Kālo ca gamanassā ti gacchāmi dīpam uttamam.
(1) Smp I. 71

81. Saṅgamma tumhe idha maggabhāvanā
Thānāni samvejaniyāni'dha bahū
Samvega samyojaniyesu vatthusu
Samvega jāto va payujja yoniso.
(1) SA II. 400

82. Samvijjamānamhi visuddhadassano
Tadanvayam neti atīt'anāgate
Sabbe pi saṅkhāragatā palokino
Ussāva bindu suriye va uggate.
(1) Vi II. 643
(2) PsmA 183

83. Saccam satto paṭisandhi paccayākāram eva ca
Duddasā caturo dhammā desetuñ ca sudukkarā.
(1) Vi II. 522
(2) Sv 130

84. Satta saññam gahetvāna sassat'uccheda dassino
Dvāsaṭṭhi diṭṭhim gaṇhanti aññam añña virodhitā.
(1) Vi II. 603

85. Samānānam hi pasādo na visamānānam.
(1) Vi II. 445

86. Samam pharati mettāya sabbam lokam sadevakam
Mahāviseso purimena yassa sīmā na paññayati.
(1) Vi I. 307

87. Sāmaṇero ca Sumano chalabhiñño mahiddhiko
Bhaṇḍuke sattamo tesam diṭṭhasacco upāsako
Iti ete mahānāgā mantayimsu rahogatā.
(1) Smp I. 71

88. Sāraddhe kāye citte ca adhimattam pavattati
Asāraddhamhi kāyamhi sukhumam sampavattati.
(1) Vi I. 275
(2) PsmA 339
(3) Smp II. 412

89. Sīlam yogissa alaṅkāro sīlam yogissa maṇḍanam
Sīlehi alaṅkato yogī maṇḍane aggatam gato.
(1) Sum Vil I. 55

90. Subhāsitam sutvā mano pasīdati
Sameti nam pīti sukham ca vindati
Tassa ārammaṇe tiṭṭhati mano
Goṇo va kiṭṭhādako daṇḍatajjito.
(1) SA Sn III. 78

APPENDIX IIB

QUOTATIONS FROM THE PORĀṆAS

(*Prose*)

91. Asubhamhiasubhanimittaṃ asubhārammaṇo pi dhammo asubhanimittaṃ. 1.

(1) Man I. 46

92. Idaṃ saṅkhārupekkhā ñāṇaṃ ekam eva tīṇi nāmāni labhati. Heṭṭhā muñcitukamyatā ñāṇaṃ nāma jātaṃ, majjhe paṭisaṅkhānupassanā nāma, ante ca sikhāppattaṃ saṅkhārupekkhā ñānaṃ nāma. 2

(1) Vi II. 660

93. Idaṃ hi suttaṃ (=Anumānasuttaṃ) bhikkhupātimokkhaṃ māma. 3.

(1) Pap II. 67

94. Obhāsagataṃ cittaṃ avijjāndhakāre na iñjatī ti āneñjan ti rūpāvacara catutthajjhānam eva ca rūpavirāgabhāvanāvasena pavattitaṃ ārammaṇavibhāgena catubbidhaṃ arūpāvacarajjhānan ti etesaṃ pañcannaṃ jhānānaṃ ānañjavohāro tesu yaṃ kiñci pādakaṃ katvā samāpannā arahattaphala samāpatti āneñjasamādhī ti. 4.

(1) UdA 23

95. Cakkhu rūpaṃ na passati acittakattā, cittaṃ na passati acakkhukattā, dvārāmmanasaṅghaṭṭhe pana cakkhupasādavatthukena cittena passati. Idisī pan'esā dhanunā vijjhati ti ādisu viya sasambhārakathā nāma hoti. Tasmā cakkhuviññāṇena rūpaṃ disvā ti ayam ev'ettha attho ti. 5.

(1) Vi I. 20
(2) Att 400
(3) MNiA 277

96. Tasmiṃ samaye ti vā tena samayena ti vā ekaṃ samayan ti vā abhilāpamatta bhedo esa niddeso, sabbattha bhummam eva attho. Tasmā ekaṃ samayan ti vutte pi ekasmiṃ samaye ti attho veditabbo. 6.

(1) UdA 23
(2) Man I 13
(3) Pap I 10

97. Tāsu bhūmīsu asamugghāṭitā kilesā bhūmiladdhuppannā ti saṃkhaṃ gacchanti.7

(1) SV 299

98. Dassanamaggo sammādiṭṭhi, abhiniropanamaggo sammāsaṅkappo..............pe ....avikkhepamaggo sammāsamādhi. 8.

(1) Pap I 105

99. Na macchamaṃsan ti akhādiyamānaṃ macchamaṃsaṃ na sodheti, tathā anāsakattaṃ. 9.

(1) Pj II 291

100. Pokkharan ti sarīraṃ vadanti, vaṇṇaṃ vaṇṇaṃ evā ti. 10.

(1) Sum Vil I 282

101. Bārāṇasi rañño kira aggamahesiyā kucchimhi....................................11.

(1) Pj I 158
(2) Pj II 278

102. Bhayatupaṭṭhānaṃ ekam eva tīṇi nāmāni labhati. Sabba saṅkhāre bhayato addasā ti bhayatupaṭṭhānaṃ nāma jātaṃ, tesu yeva saṅkhāresu ādinavaṃ uppādesi ti ādinavānupassanā nāma jātaṃ tesu yeva saṅkhāresu nibbindamānaṃ uppannan ti nibbindānupassanā nāma jātaṃ. 12.

(1) Vi II 651

103. Macchariyan ti parehi sādhāraṇabhāvassa asahanatā. Ten'ev'assa Porāṇā evaṃ vacanatthaṃ vadanti; Idaṃ acchariyam mayham eva hotu mā aññesaṃ acchariyam hotū ti pavattattā macchariyan ti vuccati ti. 13.

(1) Sum Vil II 491

104. Mana ussannatāya manussā. 14.

(1) Pj I 123

105. Yathā padīpo apubbaṃ acarimaṃ ekakkhaṇena cattāri kiccāni karoti; vaṭṭiṃ jhāpeti andhakāraṃ vidhamati ālokaṃ patividaṃseti sinehaṃ pariyādiyati, evam eva maggañāṇaṃ apubbaṃ acarimaṃ ekakkhaṇena cattāri saccāni abhisameti dukkhaṃ pariññābhisamayena abhisameti samudayaṃ pahānābhisamayena abhisameti maggaṃ bhāvanābhisamayena abhisameti nirodhaṃ sacchikiriyābhisamayena abhisameti.. Kiṃ vuttam hoti? Nirodhaṃ ārammaṇaṃ karitvā cattāri pi saccāni pāpuṇāti passati paṭivijjhati ti. 15.

(1) Vi II 690

106. Yamhi kālehi vaṇṇenti. 16.

(1) Pap I 83

107. Yasmā tasmiṃ thāne sattha samāyoge kiṃ bhaṇḍaṃ atthi ti pucchite sabbam atthī ti āhaṃsu, tasmā taṃ vacanam upādāya Sāvatthī vuccati. 17.

(1) Pj II 300

108. Yasmā pubbe Mahāpanādaṃ rājakumāraṃ nānā nāṭakādīhi .... so padeso Kosalo ti vuccati ti. 18.

(1) Sum Vil I 239
(2) Pap II 326

109. Sadevakan ti devatāhi saddhiṃ avasesaṃ lokaṃ. 19.

(1) Sum Vil I 175
(2) Pap II 202
(3) MNiA 211

110. Sa ca yasmā sahajātapahān'ekaṭṭhehi..............ettha attho veditabbo. Esa Porāṇānaṃ adhippāyo. 20

(1) Pap I 74

111. Sujāya dīyamānāya mahāyāgam patigaṇhantānan ti. 21.

(1) Sum Vil I 289

It is difficult to say whether 29 and 85 are parts of stanzas or whether they are two prose sentences.

TABLE SHOWING THE PORĀNA QUOTATIONS IN EACH COMMENTARY

(*The numbers refer to those in Appendix II*A *and* B).

Visuddhimagga	... 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 29, 33, 37, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 60, 66, 67, 72, 73, 74, 75, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 88, 92, 95, 102, 105
Samantapāsādikā	... 12, 26, 27, 30, 32, 34, 38, 39, 44, 55, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 69, 72, 74, 78, 79, 80, 87, 88
Atthasālinī	... 42, 95
Sammohavinodanī	... 20, 83, 97
Sumaṅgalavilāsinī	... 23, 67, 70, 71, 72, 74, 89, 100, 103, 108, 109, 111
Papañcasūdanī	... 9, 20, 23, 36, 67, 70, 71, 72, 74, 93, 96, 98, 106, 108, 109, 110
Sāratthappakāsinī	... 8, 15, 20, 22, 25, 28, 35, 40, 41, 54, 67, 68, 76, 77, 81, 90
Manorathapūraṇī	... 23, 67, 70, 91, 96
Khuddakapāṭha Aṭṭhakathā	... 101, 104
Udāna Aṭṭhakathā	... 22, 28, 35, 54, 67, 68, 94, 96
Itivuttaka Aṭṭhakathā	... 25, 67, 77
Suttanipāta Aṭṭhakathā	... 31, 99, 101, 107
Niddesa Aṭṭhakathā	... 20, 23, 31, 43, 60, 67, 70, 71, 95, 109
Paṭisambhidāmagga Aṭṭhakathā	... 19, 20, 21, 23, 29, 55, 67, 70, 71, 72, 74, 82, 88
Apadāna Aṭṭhakathā	... 24, 56, 57, 58
Buddhavaṃsa Aṭṭhakathā	... 67
Netti Aṭṭhakathā	... 71

REFERENCES TO, AND QUOTATIONS FROM, THE PORĀṆAKA THERAS

1. Ten'eva Porāṇakattherā, lajjī rakkhissati lajjī rakkhissatī ti tikkhattuṃ āhaṃsu.
Vi. I. 99

2. Porāṇakattherā hi anusuyyakā honti, na attano rucim eva ucchubhāraṃ viya evaṃ ukkhipitvā vicaranti, kāraṇam eva gaṇhanti akāranaṃ vissajjenti.
Sum Vil III. 745

3. Porāṇakattherā pana evarūpaṃ bhikkhuṃ cūḷasotāpanno ti vadanti.
Pap II. 120

4. Porāṇakattherā atiracchānakathā honti nisinnaṭṭhāne pañhaṃ samuṭṭhāpetvā ajānantā pucchanti jānantā vissajjenti, tena nesaṃ ayaṃ kathā udapādi.
SA Sn III. 92

5. Imasmiñ ca pana Bījopamasutte diṭṭhī ti niyatamicchādiṭṭhi gahitā ti Porāṇakattherā āhaṃsu. Taṃ pana pakkhipitvā sabbāni pi dvāsaṭṭhi diṭṭhigatāni gahitāni ti vuttaṃ.
Man II. 26

6. Porāṇakattherā pana ettakena pākaṭaṃ na hoti ti vibhajitvā dassesuṃ.
SV 314

7. Porāṇaka bhikkhū kira amhākaṃ upajjhāyo ācariyo ti na mukhaṃ oloketvā vattaṃ karonti, sampatta paricchedan'eva karonti.
SV 350

APPENDIX III.

LIST OF KINGS[1]

1.	Vijaya	... 483—445 B.C.
	Interregnum	... 445—444
2.	Paṇḍuvāsudeva	... 444—414
3.	Abhaya	... 414—394
	Interregnum	... 394—377
4.	Paṇḍukābhaya	... 377—307
5.	Muṭasiva	... 307—247
6.	Devānampiyatissa	... 247—207
7.	Uttiya	... 207—197
8.	Mahāsiva	... 197—187
9.	Sūratissa	... 187—177
10.	Sena }	
11.	Guttika }	... 177—155
12.	Asela	... 155—145
13.	Eḷāra	... 145—101
14.	Duṭṭhagāmaṇī	... 101—77
15.	Saddhātissa	... 77—59
16.	Thūlathana	... 59
17.	Lañjatissa	... 59—50
18.	Khallāṭanāga	... 50—43
19.	Vaṭṭagāmaṇī	... 43
20.	Pulahattha }	
21.	Bāhiya }	
22.	Panayamāra }	... 43—29
23.	Piḷayamāra }	
24.	Dāṭhika }	
25.	Vaṭṭagāmaṇī	... 29—17
26.	Mahācūḷi Mahātissa	... 17—3
27.	Coranāga	... 3 B.C.—9 A. D.
28.	Tissa	... 9—12 A. D.
29.	Anulā	... 12—16
30.	Kuṭakaṇṇatissa	... 16—38
31.	Bhātikābhaya	... 38—66
32.	Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga	... 67—79
33.	Amaṇḍagāmaṇī	... 79—89
34.	Kaṇirajāṇutissa	... 89—92
35.	Cūlābhaya	... 92—93
36.	Sīvalī	... 93
37.	Iḷanāga	... 93—103
38.	Candamukhasiva	... 103—112
39.	Yasalālakatissa	... 112—120
40.	Subha	... 120—126
41.	Vasabha	... 127—171
42.	Vaṅkanāsikatissa	... 171—174
43.	Gajabāhu	... 174—196
44.	Mahallakanāga	... 196—202
45.	Bhātikatissa	... 203—227
46.	Kaniṭṭhatissa	... 227—245
47.	Khujjanāga	... 246—248
48.	Kuñcanāga	... 248—249
49.	Sirināga I	... 249—268
50.	Vohārikatissa	... 269—291
51.	Abhayanāga	... 291—299
52.	Sirināga II	... 300—302
53.	Vijayakumāra	... 302—303
54.	Saṅghatissa	... 303—307
55.	Sirisaṅghabodhi	... 307—309
56.	Goṭhābhaya	... 309—322
57.	Jeṭṭhatissa I	... 323—333
58.	Mahāsena	... 334—361
59.	Sirimeghavaṇṇa }	
60.	Jeṭṭhatissa II }	... 362—409
61.	Buddhadāsa }	
62.	Upatissa I }	... 409—431
63.	Mahānāma	

1 The dates are based on Cūlavaṃsa Vol. II pp ix—xi

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INDEX

INDEX

Abbhantara Jātaka, 146
Ābhassara, 153
Abhaya, bandit, 103; Devānampiya-tissa's brother, 54, 104; Dīghabhāṇakathera, 26, 85, 103, 116; thera, 26.
Abhayagiri, 79, 95;—Dāgäba, 109;—dwellers, 88, 90, 105, 114;—fraternity, 92—95;—monastery, 141;—School, 79, 88, 90, 94, 96;—sect. 91;—Vihāra, 45, 78, 88, 91—94, 109, 124, 137
Abhayaturāmaha sā, 94.
Abhidhamma, 5, 13, 24—25, 40, 81, 85;—commentaries, 8; Piṭaka, 27, 65, 76, 94, 96, 99.
Abhidhammaṭṭhakathā, 10, 13.
Abhidhammikā, 24—25.
Abhidharmāhṛdaya Sāstra, 96.
Abhisaṅkhāra, 151.
Ācariyā, 10, 15.
Ācariyamata, 10, 15.
Ācariyavāda, 10, 15, 81.
Ācariyavādas, 84—85, 120.
-cariyānaṃ samānatthakathā, 15.
Acchariyabbhutadhamma Sutta, 35.
Adam, 113.
Adam's Peak, 113.
Adhipati, 150.
Āgama Nikāya, 32.
Āgamaṭṭhakathā, 10, 13.
Aggabodhi I, 9.
Aggālava Cetiya, 134.
Aggikhandopama Sutta, 52.
Aggimitta, 57.
Ahidīpa, 111.
Ajātasattu, 106, 134, 146.
Ājīvakas, 45, 47.
Akaniṭṭha, 153.
Ākāsacetiya, 113, 118, 149.
Akitti Jātaka, 111.
Akkhakkhāyika famine, 62, 65—66.
Akujuka Monastery, 118.
Alajanapada, 74.
Alasandā, 64.
Ālavakagajjita, 98—99.
Ālindaka, 68, 120, 125.
Ālokavihāra, 32, 79, 94.
Aluvihāra, 79.
Āmaṇḍagāmaṇī, 128;—Abhaya, 89.
Amaradvīpa, 140.
Amarāvatī, 140.
Ambaherana Salamevan, 92.
Ambalaṭṭhikā, 26, 89, 106.
Ambariya Vihāra, 61, 116.
Ambatthala, 102; Dāgäba, 102; Thūpa, 88.
Ambaṭṭhakola District, 45.
Ambilahālavihāra, 83.
Anāgatavaṃsa, 4.
Anamataggiya Discourse, 52.
Ānanda thera, 24, 26—27, 96—97.
Ancients, 18. (*See* Porāṇā).
Andha Country, 12.
Andhaka, aṭṭhakathā 10, 12—13,—language, 12,—School, 100.
Aṅgulimālā, 99.
Aṅgulimālapiṭaka, 98—99.
Aṅguttara,—aṭṭhakathā, 10, 13;—bhāṇaka, 25, 29—30.
Aṅguttaranikāya, 1, 5—6, 21, 24, 30, 149;—aṭṭhakathā (Sinh.), 29.
Añjali, 57.
Antaka, 150.
Antarasamudda, 120;—vihāra, 86, 120.
Antarasobbha, 66.
Anula, of Koṭipabbatavihāra, 70.
Anulā, 53, 55, 57, 80.
Anulādevī, 51.
Anumāna Sutta, 19.
Anupada, 24.
Anurādhapura, 5, 9, 26, 43, 44, 50, 51, 54, 55, 59, 60, 61, 64, 66, 70, 71, 73, 77, 79, 84, 86, 92, 101, 102, 103, 111, 113, 120, 124, 128, 137, 139, 140, 150; Buddhism flourishing, 72, 104—110; guardian deity, 44; Monasteries at, 74, 104—110; over-run by Tamils, 5, 60, 114; pagan families, 45; slave living at, 128; standard of comparison, 104.
Anuruddha, 84; pupils of—24.
Apadāna, 1, 9, 17, 27;—aṭṭhakathā, 20, 26, 112; Commentary, 20.
Apannaka Sutta, 115.
Aparaseliya School, 99.
Apāya, 153.
Appamāṇābha, 153.
Appamāṇasubha, 153.
Arammaṇakathā, 98.
Arati, 147.
Ariṭṭha, embassies to India, 44, 50, 53, 55; enters the Order, 53, 54;
Ariṭṭhapabbata, 110.
Ariṭṭha-ṭhapita-ghara, 57.
Ariyakoṭi, 120.
Ariyavaṃsa Paṭipadā, 85.
Arunavaṭiya Sutta, 119.
Arūpaloka, 153.
Asā, 147.
Asadisi Mahāthūpa, 106.
Asāḷha, 53, 54.
Asela, 60.
Āsīvisopama Sutta, 22, 52.
Asoka, 43—44, 53—55, 90, 109, 134, 140; Edicts of, 49.
Asokārāma, 49, 64.
Assayuja, 57.
Asubhakathā, 98.

Asuraloka, 152.
Āṭānāṭiya Paritta, 142 ; Sutta, 142, 148 ; Suttanta, 147, 148.
Atappa, 153.
Atthadassi, 6
Atthasālinī, 2, 4, 8, 13, 17, 26, 61, 69, 76, 82, 84—85, 94—95, 121, 123, 139.
Aṭṭhakathā, 10, 13, 14, 15 ; Pāli—, 1—2, 7—9, 17—18, 22, 25, 33, 38—42, 49, 63, 67, 82, 89, 113, 119, 145, 148 ; Sinhalese, 2, 4, 11—12 ; works, post—, 151.
Aṭṭhakathācariyā, 10, 14, 15, 20, 22
Aṭṭhakathāmuttaka-ācariya-naya, 40.
Aṭṭhakathānaya, 39.
Aṭṭhakathikas, 14, 15, 25.
Ātvehera, 121.
Avīci Naraka, 152.
Aviha, 153.

Badaraṭittha, 9.
Badulla District, 114.
Bahalamassu, 78.
Bahuputtacetiya, 134.
Bakkula, 29.
Benares, 20.
Bhaddakaccānā, 45, 47.
Bhaddasāla, 49.
Bhadrika Shrine, 103.
Bhaggari, 68—69.
Bhāṇakas, 10, 23—26, 30, 32, 42, 106, 127 (Chap. 3, i) ; of Aṅguttara, 24. (*See* Aṅguttarabhāṇakā) ; of Dhammapada, 24. (*See* Dhammapadabhāṇakā) ; of Dīgha, 24. (*See* Dīghabhāṇakā) ; of Maha-Ariyavaṃsa, 24 ; of Majjhima, 24. (*See* Majjhimabhāṇakā) ; of Samyutta, 24. (*See* Saṃyuttabhāṇakā) ; of Vibhaṅgas, 24.
Bhaṇḍu, 51.
Bhaṇḍuka, 49.
Bharhut, 140.
Bhātaragāma, 75.
Bhātika Abhaya, 86.
Bhātiya, 88—90, 94, 103, 120, 128.
Bhātivaṅka, 70.
Bhattisena, 9.
Bherapāsāna Vihāra, 119.
Bhikkhupātimokkha, 19.
Bimbisāra, 37.
Bodhi Pūjā, 139. (*See* Bodhi Tree).
Bodhisatta, 29, 35—36.
Bodhisatva,—ideal 152, pantheon of—144.
Bodhi Tree, bringing to Ceylon and planting, 55—57, 102, 111, 114, 139 ; construction of images and temples, etc., 134, 139—142 ; destruction, 140 ; historicity, 56 ; —in Magadha, 140 ; saplings, 55, 108, 110—111, 118, 139 ; veneration, 55, 107, 136, 138—139, 141

Brahmā, 144—147, 150, 153.
Brahmajāla Sutta, 26, 106.
Brāhmanatissa, the rebel, 73—74, 76 ; —famine, 29, 63, 74—76, 79—80, 105, 108, 111, 115, 117 ;—peril, 73—74, 77, 114, 147.
Brāhmanic, deities, 149 ; gods, pantheon of—, 144—(Chap. 10) ; literature, 145.
Brāhmanism, 43—44.
Brahmapārisajja, 153.
Brahmapurohita, 153.
Brāhmi, letters of 1st Century, B.C. 118.
Brazen Palace, 76. (*See* Lohapāsāda).
Buddha, 2, 7, 19, 24, 28, 30—31, 44, 50, 59, 67, 134—136 ; alms bowl of—, 77, 138 ; collar bone of—, 56, 137 ; Hall of—, 137 ;—image, 140—141 ; sārīra-dhātu of—, 38 ; statues of—, 140—141 ; supernatural idea of—, 96—97, 100; teachings of—, 32, 76, 79, 104, 142—143 ; tooth relic of—93, 137—138, 146 ; visits to Ceylon, 45—48, 106, 112—114, 119.
Buddhadāsa, 93, 129.
Buddhadatta, 1, 8—9.
Buddhadeva, 6, 95.
Buddhagayā, 64, 139.
Buddhaghosa, 1—14, 16—23, 26, 29—32, 41, 61, 71, 81—85, 87, 98, 102, 105, 124—125, 127, 131, 133—134, 151—152 ; chronological error of—, 3—4 ; date of, 6, 41 ; etymological errors of his works, 3 ; first work in Ceylon, 4, 13, 152 ; index to his scholarly way, 2, 3 ; legends round, 2 ; list of his works, 1, 2 ; refers to Porāṇas, 16—18, 22 ; task of, 2, 4 ; tradition of, 7 ; why he left Ceylon, 5.
Buddhaghosa, (another thera), 8.
Buddhamitta, 5—6.
Buddhapakinnaka-khanda, 34.
Buddharakkhita, Piṅgala, 116, 128.
Buddhasiri, 5.
Buddhist—attitude to Devas, 144—145, 148—149 ; —centres, moving of 72 ; Cosmography, 152—153 ;—faith, 46, 59—72, (Chap. 3 ii) ;—hermits, 102 ; —life, 41, 87, 124—132, (Chap. 8); literature, 4, 10, 133, 150; missionary 43 ; —ritual, 133—143 (Chap. 9) ; Sculpture, 139—140
Buddhikaraṇḍaka, 98
Buttala, 119.
Buddhavaṃsa, 1, 9, 17, 27, 34—35, 38—39, 133 ;—Aṭṭhakathā, 38, 40—41, 135, 139 ; Commentary, Pāli, 18, 29, 34—35, 39 ; Commentary, Sinh., 38 ; Commentator, 34.

Buddhism, 1—2, 33, 42—48, 51, 60, 62, 63—65, 70—72, 77—80, 87—88, 101, 107, 114—115, 124, 128—129, 133—143, 144, 145, 149, 152 ; Association with Hindu gods and Growth of Mythology, etc., 64, 144—153, (Chap. 10) ; growth of ritual, 133—143, (Chap. 9) ; influence on people, etc., 124—132, (Chap. 8) ; —in pre-Mahindian Ceylon, 43, 45—48, 51, 124 ; in Rohaṇa, 114—115 ; Signs of decadence 77—79, 87—88.

Cakkana, 128.
Candagutta, 64.
Caṇḍālatissa, peril, 147. (*See* Brāhmaṇatissa peril).
Candanagāma, 55, 59, 114.
Cāpalacetiya, 134.
Cariyāpiṭaka, 1, 9, 17, 27 ;—Commentary, 8.
Cātumahārājika, 152.
Catunikāyika, 25—26.
Catuparivaṭṭa Sutta, 98.
Cetāli, 54.
Cetiya, mountain, 57, 102. (*See* Cetiyagiri)—Vihāra, 56, 92, 108.
Cetiyagiri, 53—54, 101, 120 ; Chapter, 86 ; Vihāra, 102—104.
Cetiyapabbata, 16, 50, 55, 66, 71—72, 101—103, 126, 131, 142. (*See* Missakapabbata) ; Chapter, 103 ; Vihāra, 26, 72, 85, 124.
Ceylon, 1—2, 4—6, 8, 11—13, 15—16, 20, 22—23, 25—26, 29—30, 32—33, 35, 41—52, 54—60, 63—67, 69—70 73—74, 77—80, 86—90, 93—95, 98—101, 104, 107, 111—114, 123—125, 128—129, 132—133, 135—143, 145—152 ; Caste-system in—, 128, chief sea-port in ancient—, 111 ; corporal punishment abolished in—, 90 ; embassies from—, 44, 47 ; famines, 63—65, 74—75, 93 ; invasions, 60, 73, 79, 107, 113 ; killing of animals abolished in—, 89 ; slavery in—, 128—129.
Ceylonese, 11, 16, 23, 45, 95—97, 107, 129.
Chabbaggiya ; story, 92.
Chachakka Sutta, 66, 83, 102, 106, 112, 114—115, 117, 119, 122.
Channā, 77.
Chātapabbatavihāra, 109—110.
China, 95.
Chinese, 95, 96, 99, 105.
Chronicles, Ceylon, 42, 43, 45, 49 ; —Great, 46. (*See* Mahāvaṃsa and Dīpavaṃsa).
Cittayamaka, 65.
Cittagutta, 64, 117, 125.
Cittalapabbata, 66—67, 102, 116—119, 123 ;—Vihāra, 66, 75, 115—118.

Cittarāja, 44.
Cīvaragumba, 16.
Cola, country, 60.
Colian, prisoners, 90, 145.
Coranāga, 80.
Council, 21 ; books not recited in—, 98—99 ; (at Rājagaha), First Buddhist—24, 27, 54, 56 ; Third Buddhist—, at Patna, 49 ; Thūpārāma—, 56 ;
Cūladeva, 86.
Cūlahatthipadopama Sutta, 51.
Cūlābhaya of Parivāra list, 83 ; Sumana, 86 ; Tipiṭaka, 14, 83—84, 106, 111, 120.
Cūlanāga, mountain, 119 ; of Parivāra list, 83 ; thera, 84 ; Tipiṭaka, 83.
Cūlanāgalena, 119.
Cūlanāgapabbatavihāra, 119.
Cūlaniddesa, 27.
Cūlapiṇḍapātikatissa, 119.
Cūlapiṇḍapātiyatissa, 121.
Cūlasiva, 15, 29, 83 ; Saṃyuttabhāṇaka—, 74.
Cūlasumma, of Niṅkaponnapadhānaghara, 117.
Cūlināga, Tipiṭaka, 106.
Cullapaccari, 13.
Cullasumana, Tipiṭaka, 121.

Dakkhiṇagiri, 64 ;—Vihāra, 72, 92, 102, 109.
Dakkhiṇavihāra, 91.
Damiḷas, 46, 113.
Dantadhātughara, 137.
Dantageha, Nunnery, 86.
Dāsī, 70.
Dāsikā, 57.
Dāsiyā, 57, 77.
Dāthānāga, 6.
Dāṭhāvaṃsa, 93.
Datta, 122.
Dattā, 77.
Dattābhaya, 123.
Deities, Guardian—, 44, 144, 148 ; Patron—, 44 ; position of—, 144—152, (Chap. 10) ; Tree—, 44, 151.
Deva, 9, 66.
Devadatta Sutta, 149.
Devadūta Suttanta, 52.
Devānampiyatissa, 43, 46, 49, 50, 54—55, 57, 59—60, 104, 108—109, 111, 114, 118, 120, 135—139 ; Connections with Asoka, 44, 49—50, 53, Conversion, 47—48, 51, 59, 72 ; meeting of Mahinda, etc., 50—52.
Devaputta, 151.
Devaputtamahāraṭṭha, 120.
Desanānaya, 39.
Devī, bhikkhunī, 77 ; queen, 61—62.
Dhajagga Paritta, 142.
Dhamma, 24, 50—51, 56, 65.

Dhammā, 57.
Dhammadharā, 25.
Dhammadinna, 65—66, 70, 115, 119.
Dhammadiyā, 57.
Dhammagutta, 66—67.
Dhammaguttā, 77.
Dhammakathābandha, 98.
Dhammapada, 1, 6, 17, 24—25, 27, 31, 135, 143 ;—aṭṭhakathā, 1, 6, 31, 37, 41, 115, 134—135 ; —bhāṇakas, 31.
Dhammapāla, 1, 8—9, 17.
Dhammapālā, 57.
Dhammarakkhita, thera, 9 ; Yonaka, 65.
Dhammaruci, Head of—, 94 ; Nikāya, 88, 95 ; sect. 57, 91.
Dhammasaṅganī, 2, 8.
Dhammasaṅgīti, 106.
Dhammasena, 64.
Dhammāsoka, 9, 49—50.
Dhammatāpasā, 57.
Dhammika, 92.
Dharmagupta, 103.
Dharmakīrti, 99.
Dharmajina, 96.
Dharmajina-Abhidharma-Hṛdaya-sāstra, 96.
Dhataraṭṭha, 148.
Dhātubhājaniyakathā, 34.
Dhātukathā, 2, 8, 98—99, 126.
Dhātuparinibbāna, 107, 138.
Dīgha, thera, 59.
Dīgha,—aṭṭhakathā, 10, 13 ;—bhāṇakas, 25—29, 32, 89, 106.
Dīghajantu, 113, 149.
Dīghakārāyana, 88.
Dīghanāga, 59.
Dīghanikāya, 1, 5, 24, 26—27, 32, 84—85, 112, 133, 135, 147—148 ; —aṭṭhakathā, Sinh:, 14 ;—Commentary, 147—148 ;—Ṭīkā, 106.
Dīghasumana, 59, 112.
Dīghavāpī, 30, 66, 72, 119, 122, 124—125 ;—cētiya, 119, 142.
Dīpaṅkara, 39.
Dīpavaṃsa, 16, 20, 42—43, 45—46, 50, 57, 68, 70, 77, 92, 96.
Dīpavihāra, 84 ;—vāsī, 83, 84.
Dīghāgama Sūtra, 94.
Dissentient Schools, Growth of, 88—100, (chap. 6).
Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā, 31.
Doctrine, heretical, 100 ; secret 97—100.
Doṇa, 146.
Donuppalavāpigāma, 120.
Dravidian, 9, 14, 16, 40, 60, 63—64 ; Commentaries, 9, 14, 40.
Dubbalavāpitissavihāra, 72.
Dummitta, 92.
Dūratissakavāpi vihāra, 72.
Dutch, 115.

Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, 31, 46, 61—65, 69—73, 77, 80, 102, 105—106, 109, 112—113, 115, 119, 128—130, 136, 141 ; attempt at preaching, 65 ; birth-place, 116 ; helped by Sakka, 146—147, sidelight on the literary condition of the period, 65, 129.
Dvāramaṇḍalā, 54, 104.

Eḷāra, 60—61, 72, 113.
English, 115.
Erāvana, 147.
European, 113, 115.

Fā-Hien, 94—95, 100, 103—105, 113, 137—139, 141. Account of Anurādhapura, 104 ; account of Tooth relic ceremony, 137 ; books removed from Ceylon, 94—95.

Gaggaravāliya-aṅgana, 120.
Gajabāhu, 90, 108, 145.
Galambatittha Vihāra, 120.
Gāma, 75, 76.
Gāmaṇī, 61—62, 72. (*See* Duṭṭhagāmaṇī).
Gāmantapabbhāra, 68—69, 115.
Gāmeṇḍavāla, 66, 118—119, 122.
Gandhabbas, 148.
Ganges, 47.
Gandhavaṃsa, 9, 21.
Gavaravāla-aṅgana, 125.
Gayā, 139.
Ghaṭikāra, 145.
Ghositārāma, 64.
Giant's Tank, 121.
Giri, 44, 45,—monastery of,—45, 78.
Giribhaṇḍapūjā, 88—89, 103, 141.
Giriddhi, 57.
Giridīpa, 46.
Girigāma, 122.
Girikālī, 70.
Girikaṇḍavihāra, 121.
Girivihāra, 84, 121.
Godha, Abhidhammika, 14, 86 ; Jātaka, 33 ; thera, 82, 112.
Godhatissa, 62.
Gomuttavaṅko, 28—29.
Gonagāmaka, 47.
Gonaraviya, 83.
Gotakasīvalī, 136.
Gotama Buddha, 108, 136, 150 ; thera, 62.
Gotamakacetiya, 134.
Goṭhābhaya, 61, 91, 94, 141.
Gunabhadra, 95.
Guttasālagāma, 69, 119.
Guttila, 39.
Guttika, 60.
Gūḷha,—Ummagga, 98 ;—Vessantara, 98—99 ;—Vinaya, 98—99.

Hambugallakavihāra, 78.
Hamsarāja, 148.
Haṅkanavihāra, 66.
Haritā, Brahmā, 146.
Hatthāḷhaka, nunnery, 56, 57 ;—vihāra, 56—58.
Hatthibhogajanapada, 114.
Hatthikucchi, monastery, 102 ;—pabbhāra, 102, 121 ;—vihāra, 121.
Hemā, 57.
Hemāsā, 57.
Hemavatika, school, 99.
Himālayan, region, 49.
Hīnayāna, 94, 96, 99.
Hindus, 60, 107, 113, 140.
Hindu-Gods, 64 144 ; cult of—, 90, 139, 145.
Hinduism, 134.
Hiri, 147.
Hwui-yuen, 96.

Iḷanāga, 30.
Inda, 148—149. (*See* Indra and Sakka).
Indagutta, 64.
India, 9, 23, 25, 43—47, 54, 57, 59, 63, 74, 76—77, 83, 87, 96, 100, 104, 111, 114, 120, 128, 134—135, 138—139, 141, 145, 147, 151—152 ; Central, 95 ; North, 44, 52 ; North-West, 45 ; South, 9, 12, 60, 64, 73, 77, 90, 145.
Indian, 148, 151 ; monks, 134 ; mythology, 148, 150.
Indra, 50, 146. (*See* Inda and Sakka).
Isidatta, 74.
Isipatana, 64.
Issaranimmānavihāra, 55.
Issarasamanārāma, 108, 109.
Issarasamanavihāra, 56.
Itivuttaka, 1, 9, 17, 27 ; Commentary, 56.
Iṭṭhiya, 49.

Jaggara, 74.
Jainism, 43—45.
Jains, 45.
Jambudīpa, 45
Jambukola, 55—56, 111 ;—paṭṭhana, 74, 111 ; —vihāra, 111.
Jarāsutta, 96—97.
Jātaka, 1, 6—7, 13, 17, 27, 30, 69 ; —aṭṭhakathā, 1, 6—7, 13, 33, 37, 39, 40—41, 67—68, 95, 110—111, 139, 146, 148 ; aṭṭhakathā, Sinh.; 33 ;—bhāṇaka, 25, 30, 31 ; book, 25 ; collection, 30 ; Commentary, 25 ; reciters, 30 ; scenes, 64; stories, 31, 146 ; text, 33.
Jayaddisa, 29.
Jetavana, 64 ; Dāgäba, 109 ; Vihāra, 92.
Jeṭṭhamūla, 50, 54 ;—nakkhatta, 50.
Jeṭṭhatissa, 91, 93 ; 11, 151.

Jews, 113.
Jina, 125.
Jotipāla, 6.
Jotiya, 44—45.
Jutindhara, 44.

Kācaragāma, 55, 59.
Kajaragāma, 114, 118, 119.
Kākavaṇṇatissa, 60—62, 70, 115—116.
Kāla, 150.
Kāla-Buddharakkhita, 71, 72, 102, 109.
Kāladeva, 123.
Kāladīghavāpidvāra, 112.
Kālakaccagāma, 112.
Kālakagāma, 75.
Kālamba, 103, 110.
Kālambakavihāra, 72.
Kālambatittha Vihāra, 110.
Kalasodara, 44.
Kālasumana, 59.
Kālasutta Naraka, 152.
Kālavallimaṇḍapa, 68—69, 119, 126.
Kālavela, 66 ; ascetic, 40 ; Yakṣa, 44.
Kaḷhāla, 83, 121.
Kali, 151.
Kāli, 57, 70.
Kaliṅga, 93 ;—tribe, 55.
Kallagāma, 66.
Kallakālena, 72.
Kalyāni, 26, 46, 61, 85, 112, 124 ; Cetiya, 112 ; nadī, 113, river, 112, 113 ; Vihāra, 26, 67, 112.
Kāmaloka, 153.
Kamarūpī, 147.
Kammahāratthaka, 73.
Kammāsapāda, 29.
Kammāradeva, 44.
Kan, Province in China, 95.
Kāñcipura, 6, 12.
Kandacela Vihāra, 121.
Kaṅha, 150.
Kanikāra, Padhānaghāra, 121.
Kanikāravālikā-Samuddavihāra, 121.
Kanirajānutissa, 89, 130—131.
Kanishka, 140.
Kankhāvitaranī, 1, 5, 17.
Kapijātaka, 30.
Kapila, 90, 96.
Kapilavatthu, 19, 97.
Karadīpa, 111.
Karambā-Hinna, Cave Inscription, 80.
Karaṇḍaka, Cave, 125.
Karaṇḍakola, 121.
Karaniyametta Sutta, 142.
Kāravaliyagiri, 126.
Karavikatissa, 82.
Kārtikeya, 90.
Kakusanda, Buddha, 108.
Kashmir, 64.
Kassakalena, 121.
Kassapa, Buddha, 108, 135 ; king, 45.
Kaṭakandhakāra, 68.

Kataragama, 61. (*See* Kācaragāma).
Kathāvatthu, 2, 8, 96, 98, 99 ;—Commentary, 16.
Kāvīra, 91 ;—paṭṭana, 9.
Kelaniganga, 112. (*See* Kalyāni).
Kelāsa Vihāra, 64.
Kevaṭṭa Vīthi, 128.
Khallāṭanāga, 73.
Khandha, 151.
Khandhaka, 34.
Khemā, 77.
Khuddaka,—aṭṭhakathā, 8, 17, 21, 34 ; —bhāṇaka, 25 ; Commentary 7, 20, 31 ;—gantha, 27 ; Nikāya, 1, 6, 25 ;—pāṭha, 1, 6, 142.
Khuddatissa, 66—68.
Kilesa, 151.
Kings, Four Great, 147—148.
Kirivehera, 61, 118.
Kohontissa, 92.
Kokālika, Sutta, 11.
Kolāsavihāra, 67.
Kolitavihāra, 123.
Konāgama, Buddha, 108.
Koraṇḍaka Vihāra, 121, 125.
Kosala, 144.
Kosambī, 64.
Koṭipabbata, Vihāra, 70, 118.
Kujjatissa, 67, 71.
Kulumba Sutta, 98.
Kumārakassapa, story, 92 ; thera, 6.
Kumbhāṇḍas, 44, 148—149.
Kūpayaṭṭhi-thapita-ghara, 57.
Kupikkala Vihāra, 78.
Kupuvena Vihāra, 122.
Kurudhamma Jātaka, 44.
Kurunda, Tank, 121.
Kurundaka, 121.
Kurundī, 2, 81 ;—aṭṭhakathā, 10—12, 23.
Kurundivelu Vihāra, 12.
Kuṭakaṇṇatissa, 80, 83—84, 86, 103.
Kuṭāli Vihāra, 66, 122.
Kuṭelitissa, Mahāvihāra, 110.
Kuṭhārivihāra, 45.
Kuṭimbiya Vihāra, 120.
Kuvera, 148—149.

Lakuṇṭaka, atimbara, 115.
Lañjitissa, 73, 130.
Laṅkā, 45—46, 51, 59, 72, 129. (*See* Ceylon).
Licchikali, 124.
Lohapāsāda, 26, 63, 65—66, 71—72, 84, 89, 91, 104—106.
Lokandara, 66, 122.
Lokantara Vihāra, 122.
Lokottaravāda, School, 96—97.
Lokottaravādin, 97.
Lokuttara, 83.
Lomasanāga, 102—103.
Lonagiri, 89.

Maccu, 150—151.
Maccurājā, 150.
Madhu-aṅgana, 121.
Madhura, 47.
Madhuratthavilāsinī, 1, 9.
Madhyadesa, of Ceylon, 104.
Madras, 9.
Magadha, 140, 144.
Māgama, 61, 116.
Maggakathā, 98.
Maggasira, 53.
Mahā-Abhaya, Dīghabhāṇaka, 26—27, 85.
Mahā-Appamāda Sutta, 52.
Mahā-Ariṭṭha, 54, 56, 59.
Mahā-Ariyavaṃsa,—paṭipadā, 116 ; reciter, 31.
Mahā-Aṭṭhakathā, 2, 10—14, 23, 41, 81 ; —Sinhalese, 6.
Mahābodhi, 105, 107—108, 110 ; —pallaṅka, 138 —ṭṭhāna, 105 ; Vihāra, 140.
Mahā Brahma, 153.
Mahācattālisakabhāṇaka, 31—32.
Mahācattārika Sutta, 32.
Mahā Cetiya, 70, 74, 82, 86, 105—108, 110, 124, 126, 136, 138, 148, 149 ; ceremony attended by gods, 148 ; place sanctified by Buddha, 106—107.
Mahā Däliyātissa, 88.
Mahādatta, 83, 85, 120.
Mahādeva, 64, 66, 68, 121 ; Bhaggarivāsī, 69 ; Malayavāsī, 66.
Mahādevi, 57.
Mahādhammahadaya, 96.
Mahādhammakathi, 93.
Mahādhammarakkhita, 84—85, 120 ; Tipiṭaka—, 83 ; Yona—, 64.
Mahādhammasamādāna Sutta, 114.
Mahādhātukathā, 99.
Mahāgāma, 30, 61—62, 116, 124.
Maheja, 44.
Mahājātakabhāṇaka, 30, 31, 119, 125.
Mahākaccāyana, 21.
Mahākarañjiya Vihāra, 122.
Mahākassapa, 24, 106, 134.
Mahākumāra, Sosānika, 126.
Mahāmaliya, 66.
Mahāmaṇḍapa, 66.
Mahā-Mahinda, 56. (*See* Mahinda).
Mahā-Mahindotsava, 58.
Mahāmeghavana, 107.
Mahāmitta, 121.
Mahānāga, Dāgäba, 61, 116 ; garden, 45 ; king, 61, 114, 118, 120 ;—of Kālavallimaṇḍapa, 68—69, 126 ;—of Uccātalaṅka, 66 ; prince, 60—61 ; thera, 86, 119—120, 122.
Mahānāga Mahādāṭhika, 61, 88—89, 103, 141.

Mahānāma, king, 93—94 ; of Amaradvīpa, 139—140 ; thera, 1, 5—6, 8 —9, 17.
Mahāniddesa, 27, 76—77.
Mahānigama, 5.
Mahāpaccari, 2, 12, 23, 81 ;—aṭṭhakathā, 10—12, 25 ; Commentary, 31.
Mahāpaduma, 11, 15—16, 30, 81—82, 86, 89—90, 142.
Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, 133.
Mahā Parivena, 9.
Mahā Phussadeva, of Ālindaka, 68, 82, 125—126 ; Ālindakavāsī—, 68.
Mahārakkhita, 76 ; Uparimaṇḍalamālavāsī—, 68.
Mahārohanagutta, 102.
Mahāroruwa Naraka, 152.
Mahāruhā, 77.
Mahāsaṅgharakkhita, 68—69 ; Malayavāsī—, 68, 75.
Mahāsena, King, 91—94, 100, 105, 114, 141, 145 ; name for Māra, 150 ; thera, 74, 77.
Mahāsiva, Dīghabhāṇaka, 15, 25—27, 82 ; Dīghabhāṇaka, Tipiṭaka, 82 ; king, 60 ; of Bhātivanka, 70 ; of Gāmantapabbhāra, 68—69, 115 ; of Parivāra list 69 ; of Vāmantapabbhāra, 69 ; thera, 14, 82—83, 89 ; Tipiṭaka, 82, Vinayadhara, 85.
Mahāsamaya Sutta, 142, 146, 148.
Mahasammata, 125.
Mahasudassana Sutta, 26, 89, 106.
Mahasumana, 46.
Mahasumma, 12, 16, 80, 81, 86 ;—of Koṭipabbata, 70.
Mahātipiṭaka, 76.
Mahātissa, 31, 78, 88, 103, 112, 122 ; Ambakhādaka, 16 ; Dārubhaṇḍaka, 116 ; Mahācūli, 80—81 ; —of Bhaggari, 69 ;—of Cetiyapabbata, 16 ;—of Kupikkala, 78 ;—of Maṇḍalārāma, 70 ;—of Puṇṇavālikā, 31, 82 ;—of Rohana, 70 ; vanavāsī, 82.
Mahātissabhūti, of Maṇḍalārāma, 69.
Mahatittha, 111—112.
Mahāthūpa, 22, 64, 70, 89, 105, 146—147, 150 ; foundation ceremony, 64 ; function attended by gods, 147, 150.
Mahāvagga, 25, 54.
Mahaväliganga, 61, 81, 106, 115.
Mahavaṃsa, 2, 4—5, 9, 22, 42—43, 45—46, 49—51, 53—55, 57, 60—62, 64—65, 68—70, 76, 78—81, 86, 88—89, 92—93, 95—96, 103, 105, 109, 112—114, 118, 122, 139—141, 145—146, 150—151 ; Sinhalese, 68 ; —Ṭīkā, 22.
Mahāvansika, thera, 68.
Mahāvana, Monastery, 64.
Mahāvastu, 97.

Mahāvessantara Jātaka, 119.
Mahavihāra, 5—8, 15, 43, 52, 56, 59, 74, 78—79, 86, 92—94, 103—106, 108, 114—115, 117, 120 ; bhikkhūs 91 ; Chapter, 86 ; community, 4 ; dwellers, 94, 104 ; fraternity, 7, 90 ; schism, 78—79 ; School, 88 ; theras, 152 ; tradition, 105.
Mahāvyaggha, 66—67, 71, 106.
Mahāyāna, 94.
Mahāyanism, 88, 152.
Mahilā, 57, 70, 77.
Mahiṃsāsaka, Sect. 7, 95.
Mahinda, 3, 6, 11, 46—52, 63, 72, 78, 87, 101—102, 104—105, 107, 133, 135, 139, 146 ; Arrival, 20, 43, 49—52, 114, 124, 137 ; bed of—58 ;—guhā, 102, 121 ; passing away of—, 57—59, relics of—, 59, 102.
Mahīsāsaka, School, 95 ;—Vinaya, 95.
Mahiyangana thūpa, 46—47.
Mahommedans, 113.
Majjhima,—aṭṭhakathā, 10, 13 ;—bhāṇaka, 25—26, 28—29, 32 ;—bhāṇaka, thera, 29 ;—reciters, 28.
Majjhimanikāya, 1, 5, 19—20, 22, 24—26, 32, 35, 84, 97, 126 ; Commentary, 117.
Majjibuka, 90.
Makkhali, 3 ;—Gosāla, 45.
Makulakavihāra, 110.
Mālā, 77.
Malaya, 29, 66, 68, 92, 113—114 ; district, 76—77, 114 ;—raṭṭha, 113.
Malayadeva, 65—67. (*See* Maliyadeva).
Malayamahādeva, 66, 113.
Malimahādeva, 66.
Maliyadeva, 66, 68, 102, 106, 112, 114—115, 117, 119.
Malla, kings, 134.
Mallā, 57.
Mallaka, 8.
Mannar, 121.
Maṇḍalārāma, 69—70.
Maṇḍalārāmaka, Mahāvihāra, 66.
Maṅgala, Buddha, 135 ;—Sutta, 8, 65, 142—143.
Maṅgana, 66—68.
Maniakkhika, 46, 112.
Manorathapūranī, 1, 5—6, 17, 29—30, 39, 61, 66—69, 71, 75, 78, 85—86, 98, 110, 113, 116—121, 130, 134, 149.
Mantota, 111. (*See* Mahatittha).
Manussaloka, 152.
Māra, 103, 144—145, 147, 150—151, 153 ;—yuddha, 150—151.
Marana, 150.
Maricavaṭṭi Vihāra, consecration festival 70, 109 ; reasons for construction, 62—64.
Mātali, 147.

Mātaṅga, 31.
Mātikaṭṭhakathā, 5.
Mattā, 57.
Mattābhaya, 56.
Maṭṭakuṇḍali, 41.
Mātula Janapada, 12.
Mātuvihāra, 72.
Māyā-raṭṭha, 61.
Mayura Paṭṭana, 6.
Meghavana, 52.
Meghavaṇṇābhaya, 56, 92.
Metta Sutta, 8.
Metteyya, Bodhisatta, 151—153;—Buddha, 152.
Mihindu-guhā, 58.
Mihintale, 58, 101, 103—104, 121. (*See* Cetiyapabbata).
Milakkhatissa, 118—119.
Milindapañha, 4, 16, 21, 23, 25.
Mirisaväṭiya, 109. (*See* Maricavatti).
Missaka, Mountain, 51—52;—pabbata, 50, 52, 102.
Mittinna, 64.
Moggallāna, Arahant, 134; king, 9, 45.
Molahiṭiyavelegaha, rock, 89.
Mora Paritta, 142.
Moravāpī, 83, 85.
Mughapakkha Jātaka, 67.
Mūla-Aṭṭhakathā, 10. (*See* Mahā-aṭṭhakathā).
Mūlapariyāya Sutta, 22.
Mūlappalavāpī Vihāra, 122.
Muṭasīva, 49, 60.
Mutingana, 66.
Mutiyaṅgana,—Cetiya, 114;—Vihāra, 114.
Muṭṭhipotthaka, 127.
Mutwal, 112.

Nada, 118.
Nāga, 126.
Nāgā, 75, 77.
Nāga, of Kālavalliyagiri, 126.
Nāgas, 43, 46, 55, 110, 112; kings, 46, 112.
Nāgadīpa, 56, 74, 110—111, 124, 138.
Nāgamahavihāra, 30, 61, 112, 120.
Nāgamitta, 77.
Nāgapabbata Vihāra, 122.
Nāgapaṭṭana, 9.
Nāgasena, 21.
Nakulanagara, 69.
Nālaka, 40.
Namuci, 150.
Nānāmukha, 124.
Nānāvatthukathā, 98.
Nandanavana, 52.
Nandopananda Sutta, 98.
Nārada, 39.
Naramuttā, 57.
Narendrayasas, 96.
Nātha, 90.
Nā-ulpata, Cave Inscription, 90.
Nepal, 134.
Netti, 9, 17;—Aṭṭhakathā, 148.
Nidānakathā, of Jātakaṭṭhakathā, 35.
Niddesa, 1, 9, 17;—Commentary, 17.
Nighaṇṭas, 44, 45; monastery, 109.
Nigrodha, thera, Vaṭṭabbaka, 74—75, 77.
Nikāyas, 5—6, 24—27.
Nikāyasaṅgraha, 88, 90—91, 96, 99—100.
Nimmānarati, 153.
Niṅkaponnapadhānaghara, 117.
Niraya, 149, 152.
No-Fear Shrine, 103.

Okkāka, dynasty of—, 126.

Pabbajjā Sutta, 37.
Pabbatā, 57.
Pacchimarājinī, 44.
Pācīnagharaka, 66.
Pācīnakhaṇḍarāji, 104, 110.
Pācīnārāma, 56.
Padabhāṇaka, 24, 130.
Padhāna Sutta, 150.
Padhāniya, thera, 117.
Paduma, 86.
Padumā, 57.
Padumuttara, Buddha, 20.
Pajāpati, 150.
Pakaraṇa-naya, 39.
Pālimuttaka,—naya, 38, 40;—Vinaya, 132.
Pallavabhogga, 64.
Pālumākiccāva, Rock Inscription, 108.
Pamattabandhu, 150.
Pañcaggalalena, 122.
Pañcalamahavihāra, 124.
Pañcanikāya Maṇḍala, 84, 106.
Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā, 2, 8, 17.
Pañcasikha, 147.
Paṇḍu, 47.
Paṇḍukābhaya, 44—45.
Paṇḍula, 44.
Pandyan, 47.
Pangura Vihāra, 114.
Pāṇini, 3;—Sūtra, 3.
Papañcasūdani, 1, 5—6, 8, 17, 20, 22, 29—30, 39, 66, 85, 98, 102, 107, 114, 116—117, 122—123, 127, 149, 151;—Tīkā, 29.
Pāpasoṇa, 92.
Paramatthadīpanī, 1, 9.
Paramattajotikā, 1, 7, 11, 17—19, 40—41, 148—149.
Paranimmitavasavatti, 153.
Parasamuddavāsī Therā, 10, 15.
Parāyāna Sutta, 19.
Paribbhājakas, 45.
Pāribhoga, Cetiya, 134; relics, 138—140.
Pāricchattaka, 76.
Paritta, 142—143.
Parittābha, 153.
Parittasubha, 153.
Parivāra, 68, 80, 82, 85—87, 133.
Pasādapālā, 57.
Pāsāṇḍakas, 45.
Pāṭaliputra, 49, 64.
Pāṭaliputta, 117.
Patañjali, 3.
Patāpana Naraka, 152.
Paṭhamacetiya, 55, 110.
Paṭiccasamuppāda, 21.
Pātimokkha, 1, 5.
Paṭisambhidāmagga, 1, 9, 17, 27;—aṭṭhakathā, 34; Commentary, 17.
Patna, 59.
Paṭṭhāna, 2, 8.
Pattini, 90.
Pavāranā Ceremony, 147.
Penambaṅgana, 61.
Perumāiyankulam, Rock Inscription, 90
Peshawar, 138.
Peṭakopadesa, 4, 16.
Petaloka, 152.
Petavatthu, 1, 9, 17, 27, 51.
Pettaṅgavālika Vihāra, 72.
Pheggū, 57.
Phussadeva, 75—76, 80—81, 85, 120;—Ālindakavāsī, 148; of Kaṭakandhakāra, 68; of Parivāra list, 68.
Phussamitta, 121.
Pippal Tree, 139. (*See* Bodhi Tree).
Piprāvā Stūpa, 134.
Piritpota, 142.
Piṭakas, 5, 7, 11, 13, 25, 32, 63, 66, 70, 82, 84, 106, 115, 133, 143.
Pitimalla, 105, 120.
Piyadassi, 64, 70.
Piyaṅgu,—cave, 102;—dīpa, 62, 66, 122, 147;—parivena, 105.
Piyaṭhapita ghara, 57.
Porāṇā, 4, 10, 16—23, 42, 87;—aṭṭhakathā, 10, 16, 22—23;—cariyā, 10, 20—22.
Porāṇakattherā, 10, 20—23.
Porāṇa-Sīhalaṭṭhakathā-Mahāvaṃsa, 64.
Portuguese, 115.
Poson, 58.
Potaliya Vihāra, 123.
Pubbācariyā, 20, 21.
Pubbaseliya School, 99—100.
Puggalapaññatti, 2, 8, 83;—Commentary, 40.
Punabbasu Kuṭumbika, 111.
Puṇṇavālikā, 31, 82.
Pupphanāma, 81, 86.
Politics & Bhikkhus 131
Ragā, 147.
Rāhu, 151.
Rāhulabhadda, 125.
Rājagaha, 24, 37, 54, 64, 151.
Rājagirika School, 99.
Rājalena, 102.
Rājāyatana Cetiya, 111, 138.
Rājāvavādaka, 99.
Rājovāda Sutta, 98—99.
Rasavāhinī, 98.
Rāstrapālapariprcchā, 99—100.
Ratana Sutta, 7—8, 22, 93, 142.
Ratnakūṭa, 100;—Sastras, 100
Raṭṭhapālagajjita, 98—100.
Reva, 29; Majjhimabhāṇaka, 126.
Revatā, 77.
Ritigala, 80.
Ritual, growth of—, 133—143 (Chap. 9), 145.
Rohaṇa, 5—6, 30, 55, 59, 60—61, 65, 69—70, 73, 84, 92, 114—117, 119—123, 125, 128, ; centre of learning, 115, 120—121, centre of Buddhist activities, 72, 114; monasteries at, 119, 120.
Roruwa Naraka, 152.
Rūpaloka, 153
Ruvanväli, Dāgāba, 108; sāya, 105, (*See* Mahāthūpa).
Sabaen, Merchants, 104.
Saccasaṃyutta, 51.
Sadda naya, 40.
Saddhā, 147.
Saddhammanandī, 57.
Saddhammapajjotikā, 1, 9.
Saddhammappakāsinī, 1, 9.
Saddhātissa, 67, 71—72, 77, 102—103, 109, 119, 128, 130, 141.
Sāgala, 91.
Sāgaliya, Sect., 92, 109; School, 91.
Saggaloka, 152—153.
Sahampati Brahmā, 146.
Sākiyas, 50.
Sakka, 122, 144—149, 152; interested in affairs of Ceylon, 146—147; position in Buddhism, 144—145.
Sākyan, 47.
Sākyavaṃsa Vihāra, 66.
Salamevan, Ambaherana, 92.
Samantā, 70.
Samantakūṭa, Mountain, 151.
Samantapāsādikā, 1—5, 7, 11—12, 16—17, 20, 25, 31—32, 40, 43, 45—46, 49—50, 53—55, 59, 61, 68, 80—82, 85—88, 98, 107—108, 111—112, 114, 120, 128, 131, 139, 142, 148.
Sambala, 49.
Samjīva Naraka, 152.
Samkhepaṭṭhakathā, 10.
Sammohavinodanī, 2, 8, 17, 31—32, 34, 65, 73—75, 77, 84—85, 105, 111—112, 115, 140.
Samtusita, 147.
Samuddā, 77.
Samuddanāvā, 77.
Saṃyuktāgama Sūtra, 94—95.
Saṃyuktasañchaya Piṭaka, 94.
Saṃyutta aṭṭhakathā, 10, 13;—bhāṇaka, 25, 29;—bhāṇaka, thera, 29; Nikāya, 1, 5, 22, 24, 96, 117, 126; Nikāya, Commentary, 97;—reciters, 28;.

Sanan Kumāra, Brahmā, 146.
Sāñci, 49 ; sculptures, 56 ; Stūpa, 134, 140 ; Tope, 56.
Saṅghabhārakārakā, 127.
Saṅghabodhi, 128.
Saṅghadeva Gautama, 96.
Saṅghamitta, 91—92, 114.
Saṅghamittā, 53, 55, 102, 114 ; passing away of, 57—59 ; relics of, 59.
Saṅghāta Naraka, 152.
Saṅghavarmi, 95.
Saṅkha, 135.
Saṅkhepaṭṭhakathā, 12—13.
Santati, 136.
Santhāgāra Hall, 19, 97.
Santusita, 150.
Sapattā, 77.
Sarabhāṇaka, 24.
Sarabhu, 46.
Sārandada Cetiya, 143.
Sāratthadīpanī, 12.
Sāratthappakāsinī, 1, 5—6, 17—18, 83, 107, 110, 119, 123.
Sāriputta, 24, 46, 99, 143.
Sārīra Cetiya, 134, 137.
Sāsana naya, 39.
Sātā, 57.
Satipaṭṭhāna, Sutta, 116 ;—vaṇṇanā, 29.
Sāvatthi, 96.
Sena, 60.
Senānī, 144.
Shaman, 103.
Siddhārtha, 28, 40—41, 145.
Siddhattaka School, 99.
Sīhalaṭṭhakathā, 10—11.
Sīlakūṭa, 101—102.
Silūpadesa, 99.
Sineru, Mountain, 146.
Sinhalese, 5, 14, 16, 44, 49, 55—56, 60, 77, 87, 90, 93, 113, 115, 124, 128—130, 133, 136, 138—139, 143 ; Commentaries, 2—9, 14—15, 23, 40—41, 87, 94, 101, 109, 131, 133, 150.
Siri, 147.
Sirikuḍḍa, 6.
Sirimeghavaṇṇa, 93, 137, 139.
Sirinivāsa, 5, 6.
Sirisaṅghabodhi, Sirinivāsa, 9.
Siva, deity, 151 ; God, 113 ; thera, 85.
Sīvalā, 77.
Sobhaṇā, 57.
Somā, bhikkhunī, 57 ;—devi, 77.
Sona, Minister, 92 ; thera, 5, 123.
Sonagiri, Mountain, 123.
Sonnamāli Cetiya, 105. (*See* Mahāthūpa)
Sonuttara, 70.
Sripādakanda, 113.
Subhakiṇṇa, 153.
Sudassa, 153.
Sudassi, 153.
Suddhāvāsā, 146, 153.
Suddhodana, 40, 125.
Sudhamma, Sāmanera, 70.
Sudhāmuṇḍaka Vihāra, 123.
Sujātā, 144.
Su-ji-no, 137.
Sumā, 57.
Sumana, Kaḷhālavāsī, 15 ; mountain, 46, 113 ; novice, 49 ; sāmaṇera, 70.
Sumanadeva, Gāmavāsī, 106, of Gāma, 75—76 ; of Samantakūṭa, 151.
Sumanagiri, 113 ;—Vihāra, 113, 149.
Sumanakūṭa, 46, 113.
Sumaṅgala, Buddha, 39 ; Pariveṇa, 6.
Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, 1—2, 5—6, 13—14, 17, 26, 39, 65, 68—69, 84, 89, 95, 98, 106, 110, 122, 133—136, 142, 145—148, 151.
Summa, Dīpavihāravāsī, 83 ; of Kaḷhāla, 83, 121.
Supaṇṇas, 111.
Sūratissa, 60, 72, 110.
Suriyagutta, 64.
Susima, 135.
Sutasoma, 29.
Sutta, 5, 13, 16, 24—25, 78, 93, 95, 142 ;—Piṭaka, 76, 106, 144.
Suttanipāta, 1, 6, 11—12, 17, 27, 37, 150 ;—aṭṭhakathā, 8 ; Commentary, 7, 8, 31, 37 ; Commentator, 22.
Suttanta, 15, 26 ;—aṭṭhakathā, 10, 13 ; piṭaka, 27.
Suttantika, 25.
Suttavibhaṅga-vaṇṇanā, 32.
Suyāma, 147, 150.

Talaṅka, 120.
Talaṅgara, 120 ; Vihāra, 119.
Talaṅgaratissa Pabbata, 65.
Talipiṭṭhaka Vihāra, 136.
Tambapaṇṇi dīpa, 56 ;—island, 51, 59.
Tamil, 5, 60, 62—63, 69, 72—73, 77—78, 105, 107, 113—114, 121, 130, 136, 138, 149.
Taṇhā, 147.
Tapana Naraka, 152.
Taraccha Tribe, 55.
Tatthakasāla Pariveṇa, 71.
Tavakka, 55.
Tāvatiṃsa, 76, 152.
Theragāthā, 1, 9, 16—17, 27.
Therambatthala, 120.
Theraputtābhaya, 69.
Therasallāpa, 10, 15, 121.
Theravāda, Buddhism, 73, 78, 93—94, 96—97, 100, 104, 133, 152 ; sāsana, 16 ; School, 23, 30, 78—79, 88, 98 ; Sect. 7, 43.
Theravādins, 95—100, 105, 114.
Therigāthā, 1, 9, 17, 27.
Theriyanikāya, 90.
Thūlādhārapabbata, Vihāra, 84.
Thūlathana, 73, 130.
Thūpa, Great, 142. (*See* Mahāthūpa).
Thūpārāma, 55—56, 73, 104, 107—108 ; —Cetiya, 142 ; Dāgāba, 54, 107, 108 ; Vihāra, 107.
Tibetan, 99.
Tīkās, 98.
Tikkhindriya Sutta, 98.
Tipiṭaka, 25—26, 135.
Tiracchāna-yoni, 152.
Tissa, bhikkhu, 111 ; brāhmin, 73, (*See* Brāhmaṇatissa), Catunikāyika —, 76, 123 ; king, 53—54, 56, 61—62, 72. (*See* Devānampiya-tissa and Saddhātissa) ; king of Kalyāni, 61 ; layman, 71, 128 ; Lenagirivāsī—, 103, 111 ; Minister of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, 62 ; of Hambu-gallakavihāra, 78 ; of Kotipab-bata, 70, 118 ; of Kenagiri, 89 ; of Pañcaggalalena, 122 ; of Pari-vāra list 82 ; Padhāniya, 122 ; Piṇḍapātika Piṇḍapātiya, 61, 116, 120 ; Punabbasukuṭumbika, 65 ; Sāketa—, 121 ; sāmaṇera, 126 ; thera, 62.
Tissā, 77.
Tissabhūti, 75—76.
Tissadatta, 59, 111.
Tissamahārāma, 66, 75, 115—120, 125 ; —Vihāra, 115—117.
Tissamahavihāra, 30, 56.
Tissattheracetiya, 117.
Tivakka, 55.
Tripitakas, 94.
Tshi, dynasty, Northern, 96.
Tsin, dynasty, Eastern, 96.
Tulādhāra, pabbata, Vihāra, 120 ; Vihāra, 30.
Tusita, 151, 153.

Ubhatovibhaṅgabhāṇaka, 31—32, 82 ; thera, 31.
Uccātalaṅka, 66, 120.
Udāna, 1, 9, 17, 27 ;—aṭṭhakathā, 34, 139, 151.
Uddhacūlābhaya, 46.
Uddhakandaraka Vihāra, 61.
Uddissa Cetiya, 134, 140—141.
Ujjeni, 64.
Ukkanagara Vihāra, 67.
Ullabhakolakaṇṇikā, 85.
Unnāla, 57.
Upāli, 24, 54, 78, 86 ; bhikkhuṇī, 77.
Uparimaṇḍala, 68.
Upasena, 1, 8—9, 17.
Upāsikā Vihāra, 56—57.
Upatissa, brāhmaṇa, 44 ; king, 93, 142 ; thera, 75—76, 80—81, 85, 96.
Upatissagāma, 44.
Uru-Buddharakkhita, 64.
Uru-Dhammarakkhita, 64.
Uru-Saṅgharakkhita, 64.
Uruvela, 56.
Ussada Naraka, 152.
Ussiliyātissa, 91.
Uttara, Nunnery, 92 ; Sāmanera, 70 ; thera, 64 ; village, 116.
Uttarā, 57.
Uttaramanti, 9.
Uttaravaddhamāna, peasant, 116 ; village, 128.
Uttinna, 64.
Uttiya, king, 57, 59, 102 ; thera, 49.

Vaḍavāmukhi, 44.
Vadhatalaṅgara,—gāma, 123 ;—Vihāra, 123.
Vaisravaṇa, tree-deity, 44 ; yakṣa, 44.
Vaiśya, 104.
Vaitulya, bhikkhūs, 91 ; books, 90—92 ; doctrine, 92, 96 ;—Piṭaka, 90 ; School, 100 ; teachings, 91 ;—vādins, 104, 109.
Vaitulyas, 90.
Vajagaragiri, Monastery, 127 ;—Vihāra, 123.
Vajirabuddhi-ṭīkā, 13.
Vājiriya School, 99—100.
Vajjiputtaka, sect., 88.
Vālikā Vihāra, 111.
Vāmantapabbhāra, 68—69.
Vanavāsa, country, 64.
Vaṅkanāsikatissa, 90.
Vaṇṇapiṭaka, 98—99.
Varuṇa, 149.
Vasabha, 26, 89—90, 106, 141—142.
Vasavatti, 150.
Vāṭakasitapabbata, 72 ;—Vihāra, 109.
Vātakapabbata, 66.
Vattakālaka, 121.
Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya, 45, 69, 73, 76—80, 88, 90, 94, 109, 130, 138.
Vedas, 146, 150.
Vedalla Piṭaka, 98.
Vedic, Period, 139.
Vedisagiri, 49—50.
Vedisaka, 50.
Vehapphala, 153.
Velangaviṭṭhika Vihāra, 72.
Vemānika Petas, 149.
Vesākha, 50, 64.
Vesāli, 19—20, 22, 64, 142.
Vessagiri, Forest, 138 ;—Vihāra, 108—109, 128.
Vessantara Jātaka, 36, 64.
Vessavaṇa, 147—148.
Vibhaṅga, 2, 8, 85.
Vibhīsana, 44.
Vihāra Maha Devī, 61.
Vijaya, 43—44, 47, 111.
Vijayabāhu I, 113.
Vijayuttarā, 145.
Vijjākadambaka, 98.
Vimānavatthu, 1, 8—9, 17, 27, 51 ; —aṭṭhakathā, 41.
Vimativinodani Tīkā, 12.
Vimuktisaṅgraha, 18.

Vinaya, 3, 5, 12—13, 24—26, 31, 40, 55—56, 70, 77—78, 82, 86—87, 106, 132 ;—aṭṭhakathā, 10, 13 ; commentaries, 13 ; Commentary Sinh., 87 ;—dharas, 25, 80 ;—Piṭaka, 1, 57, 76, 80—81, 94—95, 133 ; recital, 54, 56 ; rule, 30, 88, 110, 128, 131.
Vindhyā, Forest, 64.
Virūḷha, 147—148.
Virūpakkha, 147—148.
Visākha, 59, 105 ; thera, 117.
Viṣṇu, 90.
Visuddhijanavilāsinī, 1, 9.
Visuddhimagga, 1, 3—4, 7—8, 13—14, 16—19, 21, 29—30, 39, 67, 74, 82—85, 98, 102—105, 110, 117—118, 121—122, 131, 152.
Vissakamma, 146, 147.
Vitaṇḍavādas, 96.
Vitaṇḍavādī, 10.
Vitaṇḍavādins, 15, 95—96.
Vohārakatissa, 90—91, 94, 96, 128, 141.
Vyādhadeva, 44.
Yakkhas, 43, 45—46, 55, 108, 110—111.
Yakṣa, cult, 44 ;—worship in Ceylon, 43—44.
Yakṣiṇis, 44.
Yama, 148—149 ; sharing of merits with —107, 149.
Yāma, 152.
Yamaka, 2, 8.
Yaṭṭhālayakatissa, 61.
Yona, country, 64 ;—raṭṭha, 111.
Yuan Chwang, 24.
Yueh-She, 138.

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